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EDITORIAL COMMENT

In accordance with our custom, the editors of three departments have a well-earned vacation this month. The omitted departments—Judicial Decisions, Public Utilities, and Municipal Activities Abroad—will be resumed in the September issue.

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At a recent election in San Francisco, more than sixty measures appeared on the ballot. City charter changes were added to state proposals with the result that the ballot was so long that many voters in bewilderment stayed away from the polls.

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Salesmanship and Cities

One of the problems of every city administration, no matter how good, is to sell itself to the taxpayer. The latest scheme from Cincinnati, is the application of direct-mail methods! With all water bills this June, was enclosed a small folder, containing a succinct summary of City Manager Sherrill's annual report. The list was headed "Savings and Accomplishments during 1929" and it neatly took the place of the sugar coating around the bitter tax pill.

Better psychology could not have been applied. If there is one time when the average citizen feels grumpy about his city government, it is when he gets a tax bill—of any sort. The feeling may be justified or unjustified—at any rate, it's universal. Tax-paying time is just the time for the city manager to catch him by the arm and say:

"Look here, old man. You've been getting your money's worth and more! See what we've done for you the past year!"

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Middletown Politics

As those who have perused the book are aware, *Middletown*[1] is a dreadful book. It is a startling exposé of the average American city of about 50,000 population. It tells what its people do for a living, how they marry and bear children, how they spend their leisure time, what their religious beliefs are, how the town is controlled by dominant economic groups, and, finally, what its people think and do about government.

It is their conventional attitude toward city politics that is of greatest significance to those readers of the REVIEW who are spending energy in modernizing local administration. In Middletown this attitude has changed little from that of pioneer days. One of the most cherished ideals is "demo-

[1] *Middletown, a Study in Contemporary Culture.* By Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929.

cratic government," but as applied in practice this ideal defeats its own ends. Actually it means nothing more than an unswerving loyalty to one of two political parties and a belief that all officials should be elected and periodically rotated. Although a person's political allegiance, like his religion, is usually determined by birth and family, in Middletown it is decidedly "good business" to be a Republican. Middletown's government seems to be wastefully and even fraudulently run, and politics and graft are one in the minds of many citizens. Rarely do campaign speakers mention the special ability of a candidate for office. Recently both political parties united to defeat a city-manager charter. As one business man put it, "There are not enough good people to outvote the bad element in town."

Middletown is conservative. It gave no aid or comfort to the La Follette "radicals." Although its politics "smells to heaven," it displays a diminishing interest in local government.

The Lynds have set forth in more dramatic and convincing manner than professional political scientists have been able to do, the fundamental obstacles to better city government in the United States. They are not so much lack of interest in governmental affairs, as a medley of ingrained mistaken ideas about government and a failure to recognize the business side of municipal housekeeping. Partisanship intensified by a misguided theory of democracy, prejudice against proposals for reform emanating from any of the "business" element, the conviction that politics is rotten and that nothing can be done about it, influence of voters by emotional or selfish considerations, all are revealed as deterrents to progress.

Readers of the REVIEW should turn to the chapter on the Machinery of Government in *Middletown* for a dramatized display of the forces with which they are contending in their own cities. The cure is more than a revised charter, even if it be a city-manager charter. Accepted fallacies about government are deeply grooved in the political traditions and social life of Americans. That municipal reform involves a social complex far more inclusive than the field of government alone is, for municipal specialists, the important lesson to be learned from observation of this engrossing cross section of a typical town in the United States.

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Recent British Election Renews Discussion of P. R.

One result of the general election in Great Britain is to bring forward again the proportional representation method of election as an issue of immediate practical importance. It is rumored that Mr. Lloyd George, whose party, though grossly under-represented, holds the balance of power, may demand its adoption for future elections as a condition of his support of the Labor Government.

The Liberal Party has been definitely committed to the principle since 1924 and probably cannot hope without it to win ever again as large a share of support in parliament as among the voters. In this election complete returns indicate that the Liberals polled about 25 per cent of the popular vote, yet elected only 9 per cent of the members. Under proportional representation they would have secured approximately 25 per cent of the members also, or about 141 instead of 58.

The Unionist Party fared much worse, securing only 260 seats against 289 for the Labor Party. Yet the popular vote of the former surpassed that of the latter by 600,000 ballots. The reason, as Dr. Pollock points out in this issue, is found in the large

number of three-cornered fights which permitted candidates to win by mere plurality votes.

If Britain is to maintain three active parties in the future, she will doubtless have to become reconciled to minority governments and a Parliament unrepresentative of the nation, or adopt proportional representation.

To many the success of the cabinet system of government has seemed to rest on the two-party system which assures a commanding and unified majority in the lower and dominant house of the legislature. The prophecy that the Liberal Party is doomed to disappear may be fulfilled. If it is not, however, England should at once adopt proportional representation as the soundest device for making a three-party system function satisfactorily.

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A New Remedy for Civitosis

Writing under this title, Mr. Aldis in this issue makes the novel suggestion that trade associations and professional bodies be taken into the government. He has observed that municipal reform does not stick; indeed it seems to breed within itself the positive germs of its own destruction. Few voters respond to the efficiency ideal; many are merely bored by it, while a goodly number of others are emotionally repelled by the mention of the word. How can administration be purified and improved?

Mr. Aldis sees in the modern trade and professional association movement a great well of expert ability waiting to be tapped for the service of government. In many fields city officials appear willing to delegate to special advisory bodies or *ad hoc* agencies the determination of broad lines of policy. City plan commissions, mayors' advisory committees and the like are examples of passing the buck from the city fathers to the citizenry. But when it comes to the execution of plans, to the letting of contracts, the purchase of land, the employment of personnel, their attitude changes. For in this field profits are to be made, both political and financial!

New methods of control over the actual doing of the city's work are needed, Mr. Aldis believes. Not mere budget or tax control as exemplified in the Indiana system or the Multnomah County Tax Supervising and Conservation Commission, but an actual delegation of administrative work to trade associations which will be responsible for its success. Thus the reconciliation between government and business will be accomplished.

When public improvements are to be made, a committee of the real estate board will assess benefits and appraise property for condemnation; engineering societies will pass upon contracts and supervise the work. The health department will operate under the supervision of the medical association. The society of auditors and controllers will be responsible for the municipal audit; the bar will control the selection of judges.

Here is a proposition to stir the imagination! Let the professors of political science and others who theorize about government analyze its weaknesses and its possibilities. For the idea is novel, and doubtless has possibilities, although at first glance certain disadvantages emerge.

For one thing, how can we guarantee that the trade association or professional body will always be faithful to the public viewpoint? There is a glimmer of truth in Shaw's remark that every profession is a conspiracy against society. Certainly the public health authorities have had to contend, not only with the indifference of the medical profession, but sometimes with its

active opposition. To what extent should a real estate board be entrusted with the power of life and death over zoning?

Furthermore, as Mr. Aldis recognizes, past attempts to set up special boards, often with particular qualifications, in the effort to by-pass the political city government, have ended in failure. From our bitter experience with such bodies has grown the short ballot movement, the most promising contribution to American political thinking in recent years. What assurance can Mr. Aldis offer that the horrible bacteria of politics will not infect the trade associations or at least the agencies they erect to take over the duties of government?

On the other hand, such associations have on occasion, when summoned to the aid of government, acquitted themselves with honor. For this reason, the suggestion of Mr. Aldis offers a valuable field for experiment. In England professional associations of local government officials have done much to raise the standards of administration and the prestige of the workers.

The suggestion merits consideration. Do not reject it because it is strange and therefore emotionally unpleasant. Think it over and let us know your views. The REVIEW will be glad to publish further opinions on the subject.

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Wheeling Experiments with Mayor-Manager

On July first Wheeling's new mayor-manager assumed office. He is Thomas Y. Beckett, who at the time of his election was serving as the seventh manager in the series which Wheeling had hired since the adoption of the manager plan in 1917. Beckett, who is a Republican, received 11,800 votes against 7,000 for his Democratic opponent.

Although the old charter provided for nonpartisan elections, the managers and council were invariably Republican, and politics played a prominent part. The title "mayor-manager" of course means nothing.

ST. PAUL CLEANS UP ITS WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

BY HERBERT LEFKOVITZ

After graft disclosures resulting in prison sentence of one official and the unexplained death of another, St. Paul decides to abandon the antiquated board of control, in charge since 1872 of the joint welfare activities of the city and county. :: :: :: :: :: ::

For the better part of the past year St. Paul and Ramsey County, Minnesota, in which the city lies, have been coping with certain corrupt conditions which seem to have centered principally, if not entirely, in the administration of the county home and farm for the indigent poor. The district court grand jury in December indicted J. E. McMahon, the superintendent, on five charges of grand larceny, fraud and forgery. At the same time it severely condemned the board of control, which it called "woefully inadequate."

This body, established by the state legislature in 1872, and abolished this year, consisted of three members, one elected by the city council and two by the board of county commissioners. It administered the city and county welfare institutions, subject to no powers of removal and to no control once the city council and county board had voted the annual budget. For the past ten years the board of control was subjected to an almost continuous public criticism, culminating in the grand jury report of last December calling for abolition. Substantially the same findings were made at the same time by a special investigating committee of the city council and the board of county commissioners.

CORRUPTION REVEALED

Following these reports, rumors and allegations of widespread graft involving many departments of the city and county administration were reported in the press. An investigation was begun by County Attorney C. D. O'Brien, Jr., at whose request the state public examiners took a hand. The first phase of the inquiry and prosecutions has now been practically completed. The spring term of district court has adjourned. Of the various persons so far put under indictment all have been brought to trial save one. The investigation will continue, both on the part of the county attorney and the state examiners, and there are expected to be further presentments and prosecutions in the autumn. But barring unlooked-for developments during the summer, it is now the general impression that the graft conditions were neither so wide nor so serious as at first supposed, and that the peculations were limited to a few subordinate officials of the county government.

Up to the present two public officials and one private contractor have been prosecuted, and one, McMahon, has been sent to jail. McMahon, a fugitive for five months, surrendered himself in May, and pleaded guilty to fraud. He received a sentence of from one to seven years. Four other charges lie against him on which he will be tried in the autumn. Oliver J. Tong, for forty years the secretary of the board of control, was arrested under accusation of complicity with McMahon, and indicted for grand larceny, fraud and bribery. He was later

found dead in his garage from carbon monoxide gas, under circumstances indicating suicide. His death seriously handicapped the investigation, since it was supposed that he held in his hands the keys to the whole situation.

One direct result of his death was the dismissal of charges of bribery against Joseph Sack, a contractor who had done a great deal of work for the board of control. Sack, however, was put on trial for the theft of 150 gallons of paint from the county home and its use on an annex to the county hospital which he had under construction. Sack was acquitted. A. B. Sharp, superintendent of sanitation, has also been acquitted on a charge of payroll padding.

The case of George Bowlin, former superintendent of the workhouse, goes over to the autumn term of court. Bowlin is accused of having, in association with Sharp, McMahon and Tong, cashed checks issued to fictitious workmen on a county home road which, it is alleged, was built with prisoner labor supplied from the workhouse by Bowlin.

SMALL PAY ATTRACTED ONLY POLITICIANS

The scandal accordingly now seems to be limited to petty peculations by a comparatively small group of officials over a long period of time. The exposures, however, have had the highly beneficial result of ridding the county of the incompetent and political board of control. This body had the expenditure each year of about one million dollars, but was practically irresponsible. What was vicious in the system, however, was the fact that it was perfectly fashioned to attract only petty politicians and persons of no capacity. A salary of $75 a month was paid, which was too much to secure really conscientious and outstanding citizens, and too little to get the services of competent administrators.

As a result the places on the board of control were chiefly sought by an undesirable type of politician who looked upon the job as a sinecure. The board itself can scarcely be said to have functioned. For practical purposes Permanent Secretary Tong, who did nearly all the work on the business side and whose acts and recommendations were approved for the most without scrutiny by the members, was the board. There were occasional exceptions when some member became interested in a particular item of business, but for the most the board was Tong and Tong was the board, with McMahon in close coöperation with Tong.

The following passage from the report of last winter's city and county investigating committee summarizes the situation:

> The evidence adduced plainly establishes the fact that for a long period of years the board of control has only exercised perfunctory supervision over the department entrusted to it. The members apparently contenting themselves with attendance at the semi-weekly meetings, conferring thereat with the active directing heads of the three departments; advising on matters of administration; but being guided almost wholly by the recommendations of these heads of departments. . . .
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> The most important conclusion that has been arrived at, as a result of the inquiry and investigation, is that the system of managing these departments as presently constituted is inadequate and essentially wrong.

AT LAST BOARD OF CONTROL PASSES OUT

The board of control, however, was, for obvious reasons, solidly entrenched. During a period of ten years, all efforts to dislodge it failed. But the McMahon scandal, coming just before the session of the 1929 legislature, followed by the arrest of Tong, made it impossible for members of the Ramsey County delegation in the legislature to be of two minds any longer. Political affinities were scrapped forthwith,

and the long-awaited reform took place. In the place of the board of control was substituted a board of public welfare.

The new body consists of five unsalaried members who are to function through a paid expert secretary. It was the intention that the members should be citizens of high standing and capacity, and the power of appointment was put in the hands of the mayor alone. The mayor designates two of his appointees as "city" members, whom the city council must approve, and three as "county" members, whom the county board approves. This arrangement is in conformity with the division of expense, since the county continues, as before, to pay two-thirds and the city one-third of the cost of maintaining these institutions.

In his first appointments Mayor Hodgson has met with universal applause. The new board consists of Fred R. Bigelow, president of the St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Company; Hubert W. White, a St. Paul merchant; John Schleck, a suburban banker; Dr. A. A. Van Dyke of St. Paul; and Mrs. C. C. Dailey, an experienced social welfare worker. The new board is thus able to begin its work free of political disabilities. It will have under its supervision the county home and farm, the Ancker or city and county hospital, and outdoor relief. In addition, the county board has put into its hands supervision over the two detention schools and homes for boys and girls which formerly were operated apart from the board of control.

IN SPITE OF GRAFT INSTITUTIONS WERE WELL MANAGED

It may seem a paradox, but it is apparently the fact that corruption and competence existed side by side in the past administration of the welfare institutions. No shadow of suspicion has ever crossed the administration of the county hospital, which enjoys and deserves a very high rating among such institutions of the country. Even the county home and farm is an excellent institution. Seven years ago there was obvious waste and extravagance in its administration, with the cost per inmate running as high as $1.65 a day. At that time, however, public criticism and an investigation by the Municipal Research Bureau brought effective reforms, and in recent years the cost has been kept within $1.15 per day for each inmate, which is not exorbitant. It was, on the whole, a well-managed institution and the inmates were well cared for, and decently and comfortably kept. McMahon was unfortunate in his attempts to build up a herd of purebred cattle, and seems to have made many costly blunders. But the dishonesty and graft, now disclosed, was almost entirely in matters of capital expenditure, or favoritism in purchase of supplies, and other similar peculations.

There is an obvious need for a vigorous clean-up, however, and a general improvement of the whole system of control. This the new board of public welfare is certainly competent and disposed to effect. The reformation of welfare administration in Ramsey County begins under good promise and highly favorable auspices.

WHERE CITY PLANNING AND HOUSING MEET[1]

BY HAROLD S. BUTTENHEIM

Editor, The American City Magazine, New York City

Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder

THAT city planning and housing meet so constantly and embrace each other so intimately as to make holy matrimony their only proper status, is the theme of this paper. And that their meeting places are so numerous and of such public concern as to merit much greater attention than they have heretofore had from municipal and civic leaders, I hope to demonstrate.

At the outset, two definitions are needed. The term *city planning* will be used as covering the selection and use of land for public purposes in urban areas and control by the public in such areas of the use of private land. *Housing* will be used in its obvious sense of structures designed or used for human habitation.

As thus defined, where do city planning and housing meet?

1. *They Meet in the Zoning Ordinance and the Building Code.*—Under the definitions just given, zoning may be regarded as a subdivision of city planning, and the building code as an important factor in good housing; or perhaps we might more accurately give to zoning ordinances and building codes the appointment as chief liaison officers between the city planning and housing forces.

The job of these liaison officers, of course, is to protect and control as effectively as may be, in the public interest, the proper use and development of private property. We need somehow to give them greater sanction than they now possess in many cities, and to warn our public officials and civic organizations against the too common American mistake of passing a law and assuming the job to be done. Careless building inspectors and complacent boards of adjustment are all too numerous in cities where law-making is regarded as more important than law-observance.

2. *City Planning and Housing Meet in the Street.*—And the street in its location and width is one of the most nearly permanent of human products. When Sam Walter Foss wrote "The Calf Path" he told, as you will remember, how:

> One day through the primeval wood
> A calf walked home, as good calves should;
> But made a trail all bent askew,
> A crooked trail, as all calves do.
> And men two centuries and a half
> Trod in the footsteps of that calf.

And, anticipating the modern traffic surveys, he added:

> A hundred thousand men were led
> By one calf near three centuries dead;
> They followed still his crooked way
> And lost one hundred years a day.

If we can ever induce our public officials to give as much forethought to placing new streets properly on the map as they are now compelled to give to correcting previous mistakes in this matter of street location and width, we shall have done much for the cause of city planning and housing. The untrained imagination of the foraging calf

[1] Address delivered before National Conference on City Planning, in Buffalo, May 21, 1929.

or speculative subdivider and the traditional conformity of the municipal engineer who cooks up his street plans on a gridiron, have been the chief factors heretofore in the design of our city streets. Among the ill effects on housing of this state of affairs—against which painfully slow progress is being made by our more progressive city planners and municipal engineers—are:

(a) Needlessly high costs for land, because of wasteful street layout, involving greater installation of paving and utilities than scientific planning would justify.

(b) Failure so to orient the streets as to provide the maximum of direct sunlight to dwelling rooms.

(c) Back yards that are either too small or too deep for efficient use.

(d) More corner lots than needed, in residential districts, involving betterment assessments, street noises, traffic dangers and dust on two sides, where one front—or no front—on a motor highway would suffice.

3. *City Planning and Housing Meet in the Multi-Family Dwelling.*—In the new buildings now being erected in many of our larger cities, more families are being provided for in "apartment houses," so-called, than in single-family homes. The good old term "tenement house" has gone into the discard, except in legal documents. But while the multi-family dwellings now being erected are in general more fit for human habitation than the worst of the old tenement houses, most of these new buildings occupy, as Henry Wright, John Taylor Boyd, Jr., and others have shown, a needlessly large percentage of their lot area.

Our ears are being constantly battered these days with the half-truth that mankind cannot be made virtuous by law. The extent to which *words* can be made virtuous by law, I do not know; but if we could enact legislation which would restrict the use of the term "apartment house" to buildings occupying not more than 50 per cent of their lot area, and compel the use of "tenement house" in the name and in all advertisements of dwellings of the more congested type, we should go far, I am sure, to cure our speculative builders of their appetite for supercongestion.

4. *City Planning and Housing Meet in the Onward March of Business and Industry.*—The "blighted district" is the outward and visible sign of this unwholesome contact. No one wants business and industry to remain static; but a great handicap to the orderly development of most communities is that too much space, rather than too little, is provided for purposes of manufacture and trade. We have the spectacle of our small town Main Streets spoiled for a mile in length as sites for pleasant homes by straggling and struggling retail stores. The zoner or realtor who provides soil for two such stores to grow where only one is needed, is far from being as great a public benefactor as he would be, could he devise a method of restricting business property to the reasonable needs of the community without creating a form of land monopoly which would be to the community's detriment.

As to factory sites, let us have them by all means—in communities that want them. But let us stop providing any *unrestricted* districts in our zoning ordinances. If there is logic in excluding the so-called nuisance industries from other districts, why should we not exclude all housing from districts where nuisance industries are allowed? There is as yet altogether too much truth in the criticism which certain radicals make of some of our zoning ordinances —that they are devised with tender solicitude for upper economic groups of the community, but are far from pro-

viding adequate open spaces, sunlight, and freedom from noise and atmospheric pollution, in the districts where those of the "other half" live. If it be argued that congestion is necessary because of high land values, let it not be forgotten that one cause of high land values is this very fact that congestion is permitted—to the financial gain of a few and the detriment of the many.

5. *City Planning and Housing Meet —or Should Meet—in the Clearance of Slum Areas.*—On this important phase of the subject under discussion, I cannot do better than quote from an able article by one of our foremost authorities on housing, Dr. Edith Elmer Wood, which *The American City* is to have the privilege of publishing in an early issue.

Mrs. Wood lists four main causes of slums: (a) faulty layout—too narrow streets or too large blocks, inviting courts, alleys and rear tenements; (b) bad structural plans of the dwellings themselves; (c) disrepair; and (d) overcrowding and uncleanliness. While placing on landlords and tenants, rather than on city planners, responsibility for (c) and (d), Mrs. Wood says:

"With the residuum, however (slum conditions produced by faulty layout or by faulty structural plans in respect to light and air), the city planner ought to concern himself very deeply, for he alone holds the key to the solution. It is strange that his imagination has been so little stirred by the opportunities offered. A slum section is a liability to a community from every point of view —physical, mental, moral, industrial, economic. It does not tend to rehabilitate itself through the ordinary workings of supply and demand. The people who live in slum sections cannot afford to pay a profitable rent on new houses. Therefore none are built for them.

"The writer's thesis is that the only cure for slums of classes (a) and (b) lies in municipal clearance schemes, and that these should form, not isolated activities of the health and housing departments, as is necessarily the case in Great Britain under existing town planning limitations, but an integral part of every city plan which deals with an already existing community. . . .

"Ideally, a large slum clearance scheme could be linked with a decentralization scheme to their great mutual advantage. In practice, it has never, so far, been done. If the industries employing part of the residents in a slum section were moved to a satellite garden town offering good housing to the workers, many more would follow if they were being simultaneously dispossessed at home than if it were all pull and no push. Those remaining on the site should be better housed than would otherwise be possible, and surplus land could be sold for business or other purposes, reducing, if not wiping out, the cost of the improvement to the taxpayers. In addition to which, the transplanted families would be far better off than if they had remained.

"No instance of slum clearance with re-housing has yet occurred in the United States. Minor slum clearance may be said to have taken place where a small park or playground has been established as much for the sake of getting rid of bad houses and bad layouts as of obtaining the breathing space. Cases in point were Mulberry Bend Park in New York, Willow Tree Alley in Washington, Morton Street in Boston, and Hell's Half Acre in Philadelphia."

Mrs. Wood discusses slum clearance activities in European countries and certain proposals in Boston and New York, and quotes from the report presented in June, 1928, by the Sub-Committee on Housing (of which Lawrence Veiller was Chairman) of the vast

Committee on Plan and Survey appointed by Mayor Walker, of New York. The excerpts quoted advocate the use of excess condemnation in large slum-clearance schemes, such projects to be undertaken by a special "authority" to be created for the purpose. Endorsing this proposal, Mrs. Wood adds:

"But let us take heed also of the half-century's experience in slum clearance available for our study across the water. And let us recognize from the start that slum clearance will fail of attaining its principal objects—better health and better homes—if it does not provide new accommodations for those whom it displaces, and at rentals they are able to pay. This cannot be done on the basis of private enterprise for commercial profit, but in view of our much-heralded prosperity, it ought to be possible to do it without subsidy. If not, our people might still be wise to tax themselves for good housing instead of for hospitals and jails."

6. *City Planning and Housing Meet in Laws and Practices Relating to Real Estate, Taxation, Assessment and Eminent Domain.*—The painter achieves success when his beautiful dream becomes a picture; but the city planner or architect achieves success only when his beautiful picture becomes a street or a park or a building. The manufacturer succeeds when he designs a worth-while product and makes it and *sells* it. For some reason, however—or for many reasons—ability to transform city plans into a living reality lags far behind ability to conceive them. Discussing the economic phase of this subject before a 1927 meeting of the Snag Club, in New York, Dr. Charles A. Beard said:

"It will be conceded that the power of artists and engineers to conceive city plans and the capacity of technical experts, contractors, and laborers to carry them into execution is without discernible limits. Equally undeniable is the proposition that, considered from the standpoint of esthetics, economic efficiency, and physical comfort, our great cities must be assigned a low scale in the percentage of possibility. There is hardly a municipality of any size in the country that does not have filed in its libraries and its city hall innumerable dust-covered rolls of blueprints and projects, drawn by competent hands, indicating lines of constructive work which would add enormously to the productivity and comfort of its inhabitants. Apart from decorative work, such as boulevards making it easy for the Rotary boys to go from their offices to their country clubs, or civic plazas—that is, putting diamond crowns upon leprous brows—there has been very little achievement in the field of city planning in the United States. Our capacity for execution, for realization, has lagged far behind our capacity to imagine and to project. Why is this so? Surely there is no more interesting problem in social economy than this—none worthier of the highest talent we can discover."

We need, obviously, more efficient governmental machinery and community organization for carrying out our city plans. Fully as important, I believe, is the practical problem of acquiring the land and financing the improvement thereof or thereon. We can never reach absolute justice in so financing our public improvements that those who benefit from them will pay in exact proportion to benefits received. An approach by gradual steps to land value taxation, however, and a wider and more scientific use of the special assessment method of financing street, transit and park improvements will go far towards effecting a righteous and productive union of city planning and housing.

One of the most heartening signs of the times is the advocacy by the National Association of Real Estate Boards of the principle of excess condemnation (or marginal eminent domain, as it might better be called). And now if the same Association will use its great influence in behalf of laws by which private property needed for slum clearance and model housing projects can be secured at a fair price, it will perform a public service of great importance.

7. *City Planning and Housing Meet in Many Other Times and Places.*—To describe them all in detail would greatly exceed the limits assigned to this paper. But to list some of them may suggest profitable subjects for the discussion which is to follow. These other times and places, some of which have had incidental mention in the foregoing paragraphs, include:

(a) When a conflagration rages which scientific city planning might have prevented.

(b) When the prevailing winds blow and prove that certain housing and factory districts ought to have been transposed.

(c) When ordinary traffic highways are laid out where parkways ought to have been planned.

(d) In the selection of sites for future schools.

(e) In the layout of mill villages and other industrial housing enterprises.

(f) In the activities, good and bad, of real estate subdividers.

(g) In the city's transit system.

(h) In the new movement for architectural control.

8. *Finally, City Planning and Housing Meet in Their Social Objective.*—This social objective in the case of zoning has been admirably stated by Alfred Bettman, as being "always positive and constructive and not merely negative and preventive." And I want to supplement my own earlier definitions by describing *intelligent city planning* as the application of imagination, skill and justice to the layout and public control of the development of urban areas; and *intelligent housing* as the application of these same factors to the design and building of structures fit for human habitation. Is it too much to hope that, joined in holy wedlock, these great forces for human welfare may give birth to new and vigorous movements for making life more livable in American cities? May we not anticipate, for example, a friendly rivalry among the wealthy and public-spirited citizens of each of the forty-eight states in the building of the best-planned town for the motor age, and similar rivalry in all large cities in the development of low-cost garden homes for wage earners? The results would be a stimulus to city planning and housing progress whose benefits in human welfare and happiness would last as long as the world shall endure.

THE ENGLISH GENERAL ELECTION OF 1929

BY JAMES K. POLLOCK, JR.

University of Michigan

An analysis of the recent election by an eyewitness

BRITAIN has changed—it has made Labor the strongest party in the House of Commons. There is nothing revolutionary about this result of the recent general election, for it has been clear for some time that the Labor Party was gaining in strength; and again, the Labor Party is not revolutionary even though its members wave the Red Flag. England has not turned upside down, therefore. It has merely registered an effective protest against the recent Baldwin government. But having said this much, one must begin to explain and qualify and elucidate.

The election of 1929 is the first one in Britain under universal suffrage. The act of 1928 extended the franchise to approximately five million women, and it is evident from the results that the Labor Party secured more than its share of the new "flapper" vote. The young women workers in the industrial areas swelled the Labor poll, but the effect of the woman vote has been less obvious in the residential areas.

The final figures show that from a total electorate of 28,502,265, the number of votes recorded was 22,639,117. This gives a percentage of 79.4 as compared with 80.6 in 1924 and 74.1 in 1923. The popular vote and the seats were divided among the parties as follows:

Unionist	8,664,243	260
Labor	8,362,594	289
Liberal	5,300,947	58
Independent	311,333	8

MORE SEATS WITH FEWER VOTES

How did the Labor Party secure more seats in the House of Commons than the Unionist Party even though it did not secure as many votes? The answer is the same as in 1924—the large number of triangular fights permitted many candidates to win with minority votes. This time the Labor Party has benefited from the gamble, and again the Liberal Party (as Lloyd George has put it) "was tripped up by the triangle." There were no fewer than 470 constituencies in which there were three or more candidates, and in 304 seats the newly returned members have received minority votes. Too much must not be made of electoral statistics, but it must be admitted that an election under conditions similar to the present can hardly be expected to mirror accurately the mind of the electorate. Strangely enough, in spite of the unsatisfactory system, the election has given probably a clearer view of the nation's opinion than other recent elections. That is, it has registered a defeat to the Baldwin government and its policies, but it has not given a clear mandate for Socialism. Rather has it pointed toward a constructively progressive policy with regard to unemployment and disarmament and world peace, the really important issues of the election.

The Labor victory, however, should not be minimized. The party has registered many surprising gains. In-

dustrial England has moved definitely toward Labor, and in these areas further consolidation of its party strength has been made. In fact it is very clear now—if it has not been clear before—that the Labor Party has come to stay and now is the second party in the state. An analysis of the vote in the urban centers definitely establishes the fact that Labor is here strongly entrenched. Even in Birmingham and Liverpool, two former Conservative strongholds, the Labor gains are ominous. A well-organized Labor Party has thus made it possible for its leaders to form a new Government.

CONSERVATIVES NOT WEAKENED BY DEFEAT

The Conservative defeat has not greatly weakened the party. To be sure, the failure of so many of its promising young men to be elected raises in rather acute form the question as to whether or not all the safe seats should be held by superannuated veterans, and the defeat might well cause the party to improve its practice in this regard. A set-back should always lead a party to take stock of itself, and undoubtedly the Unionist Party will find in its organization certain wrinkles which can be ironed out. In the next election, if present prospects are not deceiving, it will have a difficult task, and its years in opposition should not be wasted.

FUTURE OF LIBERALS

One of the most talked-about phases of the election is its effect upon the Liberal Party. There is very little frank, impartial discussion of this point. Both of the larger parties have pursued a persistent policy of sabotaging Liberal candidates, Liberal policies, and Liberal leaders. They both prefer a two-party system—one wonders why—and all their might is thrown into the struggle to squeeze out the Liberal Party.

But how has this double-barrelled discharge affected the position of the Liberal Party? Liberals themselves were greatly disappointed over the failure of the "revival" to materialize. The party was conceded twice as many seats as it secured, so impressive had been its progress during the past two years. But it seems as if the prophets underestimated Liberalism's difficulties under the existing electoral system.

All disappointments aside, the Liberals hold the balance of power in the new House of Commons. The balance will be very difficult to exercise, but they hold it indisputably, and it is neither good judgment nor good politics for the Labor Cabinet to ignore Liberal wishes. Incidentally, but not without significance, the Liberal contingent in the House of Commons, though small in size, is very superior in quality and more united than in the previous Parliament.

The size of the vote for Liberalism should be encouraging to the party. They secured nearly one-quarter of the popular vote, and this represents a gain of 44 per cent over their vote in 1924. Their opponents say that the increase was due to the introduction of so many hopeless candidates who attracted a few votes but did not stand any chance of winning. But this statement is quite untenable. Hopeless candidatures there were, but the Liberal Party was not the sole offender in this respect, and the party registered a substantial gain over 1924 in the very constituencies which they contested in that year. A survey of the returns shows that the Liberal Party made a net gain this year of nearly 800,000 votes over 1924 in the same constituencies they fought that year. This is something like a 27 per cent gain in these constituencies, while the whole

electorate increased only about 22 per cent.

Aside, therefore, from securing its share of the new voters, and judging the party's gains by a most exacting standard—for 1924 was not a Liberal year—the Liberal Party did move forward instead of backward. Only in Cornwall were the hopes of the party substantially fulfilled, and their greatest gains were in the English and Scottish counties. The success of the Labor Party this time in the boroughs prevented Liberal gains in the urban areas. The party is not dead nor is it dying—it is "tripped up by the triangle."

"WRECKING CANDIDATURES"

All parties as a matter of fact used "wrecking candidatures." There were 75 cases in which "wrecking" Labor candidates probably prevented the Liberals from winning seats from the Conservatives and 61 cases where Liberals probably spoiled Labor's chances. One hundred and sixteen candidates lost their deposits, 35 of these being Laborites and 31 being Liberals. The Conservative Party profited most from triangular fights, and if they should have their apparent desire of squeezing out the Liberal Party, I am satisfied that there would be a large and more or less permanent majority in the country for the Labor Party. The Labor Party's policy of hacking at the Liberals, stealing their members and sneering at their policies might, if persisted in, prove disastrous to the Liberal Party, provided and provided only, that the Liberal Party misuses its present opportunity in the Commons, and continues its internecine struggles. A new electoral law providing for P. R. would perpetuate the three-party system, prevent "Socialism in our time," moderate Conservatism, and tend to steer Britain in the middle of the road. But how electoral reform can be brought about is another question too large to be discussed in this article.

FOURTEEN WOMEN ELECTED

Many less fundamental observations can be made about the election. Out of a total of 1,728 candidates, a record in parliamentary election history, only 69 were women. Of those nominated but 14 were elected—14 in a House of 615 members. Truly the British woman is not making much headway as a politician! The party work, however, has been taken hold of by women to a surprising extent. Many agents told me that the women were really supplanting the men in doing election work. But women are getting little recognition and the woman candidate is not a popular one.

While the number of candidates grows with each election, the number of unopposed returns decreases. In 1924 the number stood at 32, but the new Parliament will include only seven members who have not had to go through a contested election.

Professor Laski has pointed out an interesting fact regarding the composition of the new House. There will be fewer businessmen, lawyers, rentiers and soldiers and sailors in the newly elected Commons, and more trade union officials than ever before. The number of lawyers has particularly dropped. So far as new members are concerned, there will be 133 who have never served before. About half of the membership has had experience in local government and about one-third of the members have some definite connection with the constituencies they represent.

A DULL CAMPAIGN

The election campaign was not at all thrilling. In fact it was quite dull,

duller than usual. The electorate, as is proved by the percentage of the vote cast, was not apathetic. It was somewhat more serious and had seen the election coming for so long a time that it came to be quite fed up, like an American electorate, before the polling day arrived. The lack of a burning issue bringing about the dissolution gave the election campaign some of the earmarks of an American contest. There were, of course, on the other hand, many differences from American elections. The radio, for instance, was quite without influence. You cannot heckle over the radio and heckling is still an institution in Britain, especially in Scotland where the canniest of hecklers are to be found. The radio, too, is in the hands of a government-controlled monopoly, and aside from a few short speeches by the principal leaders there was no political broadcasting. Occasionally, but very rarely, a speech would be carried by telephone wires to several adjoining towns. But in general such means were not used. The Englishman does not like the inevitable mechanization of politics which universal suffrage renders necessary, and he has thus far not become adept in the use of mechanical means. He complains about the "enormous" number of electors he must try to reach, without realizing how relatively simple a task he has compared to an American or a German candidate in an election. As a result of the increased electorate, the political organizations were unable to do the effective canvassing which has characterized previous elections. Meetings were well attended, and candidates drew filled halls. The halls, however, are conveniently small in Britain, and the electorate is not much affected by the distractions which keep American voters interested in matters other than politics.

As soon as the result of the election had become clear, Mr. Baldwin handed his resignation to the King, who thereupon summoned Mr. MacDonald. The Cabinet formed by the Labor leader is a good one, and no time has been lost in moving toward the alleviation of unemployment and the improvement of Anglo-American relations. The electorate has spoken and "the King's Government must be carried on." The next few years will be of surpassing interest and importance in the determination of British institutions. All the great ability and political capacity of the British people will be needed to solve problems as difficult as this generation has ever known.

SPECIAL POLICE PATROL IN PORTLAND, OREGON

BY CHARLES McKINLEY

Reed College

If you would be a policeman in business for yourself, move to Portland and become a "special." Your profits will depend upon how lucrative a beat you can work up. And when you want to move elsewhere, you can sell your business to another aspiring "special." :: :: ::

DURING the past ten or fifteen years a very interesting development of the special police officer has taken place in Portland, Oregon. The issuance of stars and special police commissions to private citizens serving as night watchmen for private commercial establishments is a long standing practice in Portland. So, too, is the custom of commissioning such watchmen to patrol a number of commercial establishments in the business section of the city. But the general extension of this watch patrol service into the residential portions of the city until a large part of the outlying area is patrolled by privately paid special police is a matter of recent development.

About fifteen years ago some wealthy residents of the West Hills section of the city collectively employed a watchman to guard their houses, stoke their furnaces at night, and patrol the territory surrounding their homes. This man was given a special police commission. According to the lore of the old-timers in the Portland police bureau this inaugurated the practice of the private residential police patrol. There are no records available which would show the growth of this institution, year by year, in the period since that time. It is safe to say, however, that the most rapid extension has occurred since 1917.

FORTY PRIVATE BEATS

At the present time there are forty "beats" which are being patrolled by these privately paid special police officers, during the night time. Of these, nine only are in the distinctly downtown business district of the city on the west side of the Willamette River. On the east bank of the river, where the chief minor business district has been rapidly growing, there is one such beat. The remainder are distributed over the outlying sections of the city which are principally residential, although some are combinations of industrial and residential uses, and in most of the residence districts there are suburban retail centers. In addition to these forty beats now patrolled, there are seven more which have been developed and are recognized on the map of the police bureau, but which because of unprofitableness or other causes are not being worked.

In the spring of 1923 this special private police patrol had become so prominent that the police bureau made an effort to provide a minimum of regulation and supervision. The chief created a special commission, composed of the captain of the detective force and two of his inspectors, to control the granting of special police commissions, to delimit beats, to hear

complaints of misconduct, and to recommend revocation of commissions.

All specials were ordered to answer a series of questions relating to their occupations during the preceding five years, to give the boundaries of their beats, to furnish their addresses, and to produce letters of endorsement from five reputable citizens. They were asked to tell their monthly compensation. Moreover, they were fingerprinted, photographed and measured and required to give a surety bond of a thousand dollars to the city for their proper conduct. Finally, an applicant for a special patrol beat was required to produce evidence that his monthly earnings would be at least one hundred dollars. This requirement was justified by the belief that a man earning less than this sum would be tempted to eke out his living by illicit activities.

This questionnaire and these precautions have been continued practically without modification since 1923. The civil service commission which tests all applicants to the regular police force has nothing to do with the specials. Once a special is commissioned he receives his star, a key to the police telephone boxes, and a copy of the police light signal system code. While a general order has been made that the special should call in to his headquarters every hour, this is not generally obeyed. It sometimes happens that a special who has changed his address without notifying headquarters cannot be reached for days. In some cases men quit their beats without notifying the commission and this is not discovered for a long time.

PURCHASE AND SALE OF SPECIAL BEATS

There are two methods of preparing the way for a special officer's commission: (1) by purchase and (2) by selecting a district in "virgin" territory, and signing up enough customers to assure the hundred dollar monthly requirement. The purchase price of districts ranges from a few dollars to as high as six hundred. Some districts turn out to be too poor to pay a satisfactory wage, and these are unsaleable. The police bureau sanctions this property interest and often assists in the collection of the money. Officer C., commissioned in 1925, purchased his beat from Mrs. Alice M., guardian for her husband, incompetent (who formerly worked the beat), for the sum of $300. This sum was to be paid out of earnings at the rate of $15 monthly. The bill of sale covering this transaction is on file in the bureau office, and contains the following sentence: "That this bill of sale grants to said F—— C—— the exclusive right to said designated boundaries of said police beat, and that I have a good right to sell the same." Another officer purchased his beat from the widow of the former officer for $300, which he paid in monthly instalments of $25. Record of this and other similar transactions are on file.

A "BOSS" POLICEMAN

At the time this commission to supervise special officers was created, one man who had been carrying on this occupation for fourteen years had worked up such a large territory, partly in and partly outside the downtown district, that he was employing three special patrolmen. His business enterprise was attested by his statement, "My business nets me about $200 per month," and by his business stationery, which showed the following letterhead:

W. F.——
Special Policeman
and Private Night Watchman.
—East——St.,
Portland, Oregon.

This man paid his special police patrolmen a monthly salary, plus a

commission on new business. Later he sold a section of his territory to a sergeant in the regular police force, who retains ownership of it today and works the district by the same special officer employed by the former owner.

In working up his beat each special fixes a tariff for his services which suits his own notions of the value of his work and which is adjusted to the prosperity of his customers. The monthly fee ranges from a dollar to $10.50 per customer. In one wealthy district a standard fee of $5.00 is charged for each home-owner and $10 for each store. In another district, inhabited by less affluent citizens, the standard fee is $2.00 per householder and $5.00 for stores. In still another district the officer has apparently made a special bargain with each customer, for his prices show a scale of $1.00, $1.50, $2.00, $2.50, $3.00, $4.00 and $5.00.

Since there has been a marked development in many residential districts during the past few years of retail business centers, these furnish an especially important customer nucleus for a special officer. The storekeepers are anxious for special police protection and are willing to pay from five to ten dollars per month for the service. Such places usually demand extra services from the special, such as trying doors, stoking furnaces, etc. In the wealthier residential sections similar janitorial and night watch duties are combined with patrol work. One special who worked a prosperous home district made it a practice to meet the owl cars, and escort his timid lady patrons home. He also carried a tow rope and extra gasoline in his flivver so that he might render first aid to the stranded. This was his way of keeping his district in a grateful and philanthropic humor.

PREVIOUS TRAINING SLIGHT

In so far as the vocational history of these special officers is revealed by the questionnaires they are required to fill out, and by the records of the civil service commission, the following conclusions concerning their preparation may be hazarded: Five of the forty have had some previous police experience; one had been for a brief period employed by the Burns Agency. Of the five with police experience, three had been discharged from the regular police force in Portland; one had been given a temporary appointment, but through failure to pass the civil service examination had been discharged, and one had resigned voluntarily. Most of the men in the downtown business districts have served continuously for a number of years. The one ex-policeman who voluntarily left the police department has served one of these districts for twenty-four years. It would seem that for most of the specials their previous vocations had been quite unrelated to police work. Their activities had ranged under the following occupations: farming, common labor, boiler maker, cement worker, longshoreman, garage man, mechanic, engineer, street-car conductor and motorman, carpenter, auto salesman, lumber worker, transferman, and clerk.

PROFITS VARY

It is impossible to tell accurately just what these men earn at their police work, although they are required to state their earnings when they are commissioned. Assuming that the statements made at that time give some clue to the reward for this service, even though they probably understate the facts today, the average monthly return per officer is $135. On this basis it may be conservatively estimated that

this special police service is costing the Portland people over $66,000 yearly. The same data shows that there is one man making less than a hundred dollars monthly, and eight earning over $160. Three of the eight make $200 or over, the highest income reported being $217.50. The salary scale of the uniformed Portland officer begins with $156 monthly and rises at the end of two and a half years to $186.

The specials are expected to work every night between dark and sunrise and are expected to furnish substitutes if they are ill. Should they make arrests they are required to appear in court as prosecuting witnesses, just as are the regular police officers, but unlike the latter who are allowed time off subsequently to compensate for this over-time effort, the specials are supposed to be back at their beats at the usual time each night. This is the theory. But no one really knows what time the special actually puts in, because the special commission which is presumed to supervise these specials rarely has any contact with them. When the special is commissioned and when he is hauled on the carpet to explain some complaint are the chief occasions for contact between the commission and the special. It is difficult for the layman to see why this supervising work is turned over to a committee of detectives. The very character of work in the detective service which differs markedly from patrol duty is bound to make it difficult to keep contact with this night patrol force.

MORE SPECIALS THAN REGULAR PATROLMEN

One of the most striking facts about this special police development is that the number of these privately paid police patrolmen exceeds the number of the regular patrol force on the second night relief. The set-up for that branch of the regular service showed recently a total of thirty-three booth and foot patrolmen and reserve officers for the entire city. On any one night it will frequently happen that the full complement will not be present because of vacation leave, over-time compensation by time off, or on account of special assignments which take men away from their regular patrols. Thus the real number of men actually on patrol duty on a given night is very apt to be less than thirty-three. It is, therefore, conservative to say that the number of special police operating at this same time exceeds by at least seven the total number of the regulars. It should be noted that during the first half of the second night relief a large proportion of the serious crimes are committed.

It is impossible to explain accurately why this special police phenomenon has taken this peculiar development in Portland. It may be tied up with the rapid development of retail stores in the residential districts which has been very marked during the past ten years —a by-product of the increasing traffic congestion in the downtown areas. It may be linked also with the real or fancied diminution of police patrol protection in the residence sections which has accompanied the growth of specialization of functions within the police bureau. (While we have more employees per unit of population today than in 1910 or in 1900, between 20 and 25 per cent of the police bureau personnel are servants of the automobile problem.) Or it may be merely that our people are so conservative about police matters that the partial motorization of the regular patrol service which has recently occurred, does not satisfy the desire of our citizens for a sense of security. It is prob-

able that a combination of all three factors has been responsible.

But whatever the casual factors may be, the people of Portland are at present allowing their regular police patrol force to share their night duties with a large number of private police "entrepreneurs" who are exempt from civil service requirements, who have no share in the education furnished by the recently established police school, whose beats are determined principally by business considerations, and whose attitude toward their work must of necessity be dominated by their hopes of monetary profit.

A NEW REMEDY FOR CIVITOSIS

A MODEST PROPOSAL FOR THE REFORM OF CITY GOVERNMENT

BY GRAHAM ALDIS

Secretary-Treasurer, National Association of Building Owners and Managers

All sorts of advisory bodies and control agencies have been tried in city government without success. The author proposes that the professional and trade associations be taken into partnership with government and given a share in administration. :: :: :: :: :: ::

Tweed has gone, but Tammany remains. The "Grey Wolves" are extinct, but today Chicago has Crowe and Thompson. An odor arises in Philadelphia not unlike that which once emanated from the Gas Ring. In short, our city governments generally are, in essentials, little better than in the classic days of the birth of the reform movements. Some readers may dispute this; but for the purposes of this article,—which aims to present a basis for municipal reform which, so far as the writer knows, has not heretofore been described in systematic form, —I ask them to accept it as a working hypothesis.

Bureaus of Municipal Research, Women's Clubs, City Clubs, Civic Federations, Municipal Voters' Associations, Committees of Fifteen, of Fifty, of a Hundred, of a Thousand, Law and Order Leagues, Watch and Ward Societies, Suppressors of Vice and Exciters of Virtue,—the intensive labors of such of these, while useful, have not produced the municipal millennium.

REFORM HAS NOT BEEN EFFECTIVE

A great deal of energy has been expended in efforts to check graft. But today, graft has become so refined an art that Bryce's famous "suppressed chapter" on the Tweed Ring sounds like a kindergarten essay.

"Reform candidates" have been elected. But reform candidates, regardless of sex, race or color, have one quality in common,—an indigenous inability to ride the curial chair for more than a single term. Witness John Puroy Mitchel and, more recently, Dever in Chicago. Their aberrations often but pave the way for the triumphant return of the Civic Sinners.

Efforts to secure better results by improving the machinery go through similar phases. Today the tendency is all towards the consolidation of local governments,—city, county, park,

school, and drainage districts, and many others. Yet the multiplicity of these agencies is itself largely due to past efforts at reform. When there was a new job to be done or an old one was done badly, the unsatisfactory character of all existing organs of government led the promoters of the project to create a new organ. Under the original impetus the new machinery would work well for a while, but sooner or later it sunk naturally to the existing political level.

Thus, for example, Chicago some ten years ago adopted a carefully worked-out scheme for an autonomous school board with a superintendent divorced from politics. Yet at the last mayoralty election the elimination of such a superintendent,—a distinguished educator,—was the successful candidate's most prominent campaign issue.

The city manager plan at least concentrates executive authority and responsibility. So does the recent reorganization of Baltimore with centralization of accounts and audit, rigid budgetary control and a single department directing all work of an engineering nature. All this is necessary,—more so perhaps than reforms of political structure which have up to now engrossed our attention. But it takes only a little thought to show that the city manager is no cure-all. When it comes to a showdown, he is simply the appointee of a politically elected body, and he has one especial weakness: he is, and for many years will remain, peculiarly vulnerable to all the prejudice which can be whipped up against an outside expert whom "the big fellows brought to town to show us how to run things." And despite the great accomplishments at Baltimore, even those responsible for its reorganization will admit that already here and there are tendencies towards a relapse.

WHY REFORM DOES NOT STICK

The problem is not only how to reform but how to make reform stick. Our failures to accomplish this so far are due to our failures to face certain conditions peculiar to our city governments and to no other governments on earth, conditions which are the causes of the metropolitan disease which affects us.

First of these is our policy of suppressing, instead of regulating, three demands which, throughout the history of urban civilization, have asserted themselves in every great center. The demands for liquor, for gambling and for prostitution. With legal regulation impossible illegal regulation is inevitable. An illegal regulation is bound to mean coöperation with organized crime.

The second cause is the inferior quality of the city electorate. Negroes and aliens flock in; the executive and the clerk withdraw their residences to the suburbs. Many of the sojourners in apartment house or residential hotel are, politically speaking, only birds of passage; even if qualified to vote, never long enough in the neighborhood to learn that the corner cigar stand is a polling place as well.

A sub-caliber electorate. Officials inevitably preoccupied with their constituents' personal affairs when they are not, honestly or dishonestly, trying to discover just how far they should allow the sumptuary legislation imposed from outside to be ignored. These are the instruments through which we expect to solve problems, daily becoming more complex, more technical, further and further removed from the sphere of politics (in the Platonic sense).

PUBLIC OFFICIALS AVOID POLICY MAKING

Already the public officials produced by such a system have frankly abdi-

cated one important function of city government,—that of determining future policy. The most conspicuous examples of this are the city plan commissions of Chicago and elsewhere.

In other instances special bodies have been impaneled to determine such matters as the location of the court house, the design of the town hall, the harbor plan, the uses of the big bond issue.

The harassed official, whether lily-white or the incarnation of evil, is only too delighted to relegate the importunities of conflicting interests to a special body. It is a divinely ordained arrangement for permitting him to escape the displeasure of the disappointed. And there are generally few if any perquisites in the mere formulation of a paper plan.

Its execution, however, is another matter. Here are jobs, expert fees, contracts, settlements with property owners. The unusual character of the work ordinarily invalidates such routine safeguards as civil service laws and competitive bidding.

Thus the Chicago plan commission, oldest and still one of the most prominent of such permanent "citizen's" advisory bodies, has consistently confined itself to furnishing expert advice on what improvements should be undertaken. The city administration adopted these recommendations with a gratifying respect for expert opinion; the plan commission evinced an equally correct unconcern as to the city's methods of carrying them out. The inevitable followed,—a resounding scandal over expert fees,—about which it is hard to imagine that the plan commission could have been as ignorant in fact as it was officially.

The lesson is obvious. It is time for the next step,—from control over planning to control over execution and expenditure. How shall such control be established?

Obviously any politically appointed body, if its powers are such as to affect political activities, will ultimately fall under political domination. How, therefore, shall we constitute bodies charged with control over execution so as to preserve their competence and independence?

Twenty years ago there was no answer. Today there is; it lies in the organization of modern business and professional life, particularly in our larger cities.

MAKE USE OF PROFESSIONAL AND TRADE ASSOCIATIONS

The bar, medicine, and the other liberal professions have long been organized into societies. The younger and vigorous half-brothers of these societies are the trade associations which, in Herbert Hoover's words, "within the last few years have rapidly developed into legitimate and constructive fields of the utmost public interest and have marked a fundamental step in the gradual evolution of our whole economic life." Rarer and rarer becomes the large concern which refrains from this sort of coöperation with its rivals. A good deal of the form and something of the spirit of the medieval guilds is reëntering the business life of our great cities.

In the protection of their trade interests these associations are constantly brought into contact with public authority and public policy. A change in the building ordinance may affect the manufacturers of brick, tile, concrete, and a dozen other products. A change in traffic regulation will have extraordinary effects upon retail business. Sometimes the private interest thus involved conflicts with other private interests, sometimes even with the public interest. But in these days when public good will is appraised as a tangible asset, the tendency is toward

compromise rather than conflict,—and, even if it desired to adopt a stiff-necked attitude, the trade association rarely has the inherent strength (and never the "nerve") of a large corporation or cartel. Again quoting Mr. Hoover, "Trade associations, like many other good things, may be abused, but the investigation of the department of commerce shows that such abuses have become rare exceptions."

Repeatedly, impressionistic critics like Mr. Mencken to the contrary, do such organizations make good their claims to direct contribution to the public interest in that growing borderland between pure politics and pure business.

HOW THE SCHEME WOULD WORK

Here is a great well of expert ability only waiting to be tapped regularly instead of spasmodically. When public improvements are to be made the real estate board through a committee can assess public benefits and appraise property for condemnation; engineering societies can pass upon contracts and afford at least a general supervision over the work itself. The technical departments generally could operate under an advisory and supervisory arrangement of this character,—the health department and coroner, for instance, with the medical association; drainage districts and the department of public works with engineering societies.

Besides possessing a salutary authority to pry into departmental affairs, these associations could assist to advantage in matters of personnel. The merit system in the municipal services remains mainly a pious aspiration; the professional bodies could well undertake the examination of technical personnel both for original employment and for promotion, leading perhaps to some influence over the appointment of the head of the department himself.

A most important feature of such professional oversight would be in the law offices of the city and in the courts. If any body wants competent and impartial judges it is the bar and whether they are elected or appointed, the bar should have the means for making its opinion felt.

The auditor or comptroller rarely exercises his intended function of a check on the expenditures of other officials except as an incident to party quarrels. The obvious remedy is to follow normal business practice and require audit by a firm of public accountants. The difficulty is that unlike a business, no city department can be trusted to order its own audit. But if the matter were left to the high standards of the accountants' profession as expressed through its society, who can doubt but that the scope and execution of the audit would be all that could be desired?

The assessment of real estate for taxation is in theory a quasi-judicial function; in practice a means of political favoritism. In fact it is work for competent real estate men functioning as they often function in private employment as appraisers. Again a task for experts,—not the hand-picked "experts" of a political machine, but the regular or a special valuation committee of the real estate board whose composition is normally such as to make favoritism to any part of the city a difficult matter.

Heretofore, as Frank R. Kent tersely puts it, "the business man has been a boob in politics,"—particularly in municipal politics. He has shunned them partly from indifference, partly from fear and has left such activities to the futile zeal of that little group of public reformers who are to be found in every city,—generally in the right, but too

often impotent to impregnate either public or official consciousness with their ideas.

But today high taxes hurt, crime hurts, inadequate public improvements hurt business. Business realizes this, and through its coöperative organization has means to secure good government which the volunteer reformers (God bless 'em) never possessed. Detroit, for instance, has quietly discovered that it is possible to apply a continuous supervision over public expenditures and public administration by or in the name of the city's organized commercial and property interests.

Such is the new remedy for *civitosis*. It is neither a borrowing of European methods of city government nor an effort to reapply the early-American democratic dogma. Lacking the sanction of such lineage it has not as yet received much recognition from the professors of political science. But from the standpoint of those who would like to see civic reform stick, it has the virtue of the pragmatic sanction.

THE GROWING TRANSPORT PROBLEM OF THE MASSES

RAIL OR RUBBER OR BOTH?

BY J. ROWLAND BIBBINS

Consulting Engineer, Washington

"Rails are now and will be for some time the mainstay of local transportation with no possible alternative except the motor coach auxiliary; private transport has found its own fatal limitations." :: ::

The laws of growth, formerly defining city passenger movement before the auto era, seem now to be holding fairly well for the *total* riding habit both by rail and rubber. City people still demand about the same number of rides according to the size of the city, with this important difference—that the private motor seems to have absorbed perhaps one-third of the normal *fair-weather* riding habit, leaving the public transport system to get along on the other two-thirds, generally under conditions of increasing street obstructions from these same motors.

It is a fundamental principle of efficient transportation that, with increasing traffic density, the independent and scattered transport units must be further and further consolidated into larger units of greater carrying capacity. This railway axiom is just beginning to be rediscovered by traffic men in our cities and it points unmistakably to further need and development of the rail transit systems to their utmost, plus a system of motor buses and specialized coach services, all coördinated therewith into the most efficient mass transport system. And whether we like it or not it is also becoming clear that the street railways in all but our very large and very small cities must continue for some time to come as the backbone of city mass transport.

TOTAL TRANSPORT DEMAND

This total transport demand in our main cities appears to be increasing

around the square of the population. A detailed study of many cities, and particularly of their central districts, has driven me to the conclusion that we should *now* be planning ahead for a city double the present size. Our 32 large cities of over 200,000 people, already cover 2,370 square miles, with 8,270 square miles additional "metropolitan area," a total area of over 10,000 square miles, larger than the state of Massachusetts, with nearly 30,000,000 people.

What agency is really serving these people? The records of 212 railways, two-thirds of the total companies, show traffic of nearly 10,000,000,000 revenue passengers a year, more than ten times the peak passenger traffic of our steam railroads. These traction systems operate also about 8,500 motor buses and coaches, mostly within the cities. The fifteen larger railway companies, each operating over 100 buses, use probably 3,000 of these buses in strictly city service, averaging 33 seats each. In addition, the four large bus companies of New York, Chicago, St. Louis and Detroit, operate about 1,500 more buses. All told there appear to be about 12,000 motor carriers in the United States, urban and interurban, in 1927, as against 81,000 surface railway cars.

The significant trend is shown by yearly additions of motor bus units, also net route miles added to what is generally known as "city railway" service. These additions to buses seem to have reached a peak in 1925. Since then the lower rate of absorption of motor bus services by the mass-transport system seems to have settled down more definitely toward a carefully planned system of supplemental services with more and more emphasis upon the development of specialized services which the motor coach is better fitted to render. Perhaps the greatest promise of the near future—long-haul express bus service—will again turn upward to new peaks the trend of growth.

In the meantime 22 cities, now registering over 75,000 autos, have reached a total registration of nearly 4,000,000 cars, or about 20 per cent of the United States total. These cities house over 23,000,000 people, averaging about one motor to 1⅓ families. But this registration increase rate is slowing down. In these same large cities, about 2,500,000 autos would probably be required to handle the rush-hour load, assuming a yearly riding habit of 250 rides per capita. With the prevailing average load of only 1.7 persons per auto, rush-hour mass transport by automobile is clearly impossible. And the automobile is distinctly a fair-weather agency. Yet it has absorbed perhaps one-third of the total revenue riding habit with the result that on 25 large railway systems, handling over 100,000,000 passengers per year, only five or six of them, two in Canada, are showing good traffic increases. The balance all show decreases, many of them serious. Here is the real economic picture of free and open motor-competition, and the much discussed *monoply* aspect has entirely changed.

The cities must be served. What then is the best method and agency under present limitations of street plan and capacity, paving standards and mileage, and ability to finance great transportation improvements, especially in the absence of benefit assessment upon adjacent property improved thereby? Few cities can afford rapid transit. New York is already approaching a billion-dollar investment, and carrying 20 per cent of the capital charges by taxation. Philadelphia has just spent $15,000,000 per route mile for a new subway trunk. Even Chi-

cago is still being served largely by surface traction. The main national problem seems to be to provide transit in cities of over 200,000 population, and in some of the 290 cities over 300,000.

METHODS OF IMPROVING TRANSPORT LINES

First—higher speed. We are in a motor age and the 30-minute time zone usually defines the distance most people are willing to live away from their work. In some large cities this averages only 3½ miles radius by traction lines, but special motor-coach services reach perhaps one mile further in 30 minutes, which means a two-thirds increase in the area of the zone, where people can live comfortably. This is vastly important in terms of social betterment and home-owning citizenship. For recent housing development is clearly trending to the suburbs. Thus Philadelphia's new housing since 1923 is largely outside of the five-mile zone and in 1927 apartment housing built in North Philadelphia, five to seven miles from the City Hall, even exceeded the heavy growth in single and multi-family homes.

The practical remedies demand our first attention. Street car speeds, especially during the important rush hours, have become distressingly low under present street conditions, often as low as 4 m.p.h. on main trunks, and even less in central zones of complicated terminal loops. In such cities the average speed of the system on the street might be as high as 9 m.p.h. through the year. The higher speeds possible with proper planning of bus routes is important and raises the question whether, in the absence of real rapid transit, it has not become a necessity to develop these long-haul express coach services with limited stops even at higher fares and to develop separate express streets for this long-haul traffic, both private and public.

The main problem today is the street railway trunk line. Its solution can at least be approached by protecting the essential streets with "Stop-As-You Enter" signs, judiciously placed (instead of erecting them against railway traffic, as done in some cities to favor cross motor traffic). An effective aid is to eliminate parking on that side of the street where the heaviest traffic moves—inbound A.M. and outbound P.M., thus practically doubling the effective capacity of the traffic ways. Four-lane trunk-car-line streets should, of course, be cleared on both sides through the central districts.

Traffic signals will either help or hinder movement according to the technical skill used in their design and operation. There has been too much copying other cities. Railroad signalling has supplied the basic technique for the modern, coördinated wave system of speed control which has proven most effective to keep trains *on the move* rather than to "hit and run" through a maze of uncoördinated signals. Chicago has demonstrated the fine results of coöperation between the city and the railway's technologists in traffic control and signalling. Within the last five years in that city the net *running* speed has increased 10 per cent and revenue passengers 16 per cent. On lines of the Loop district these signals increased the speed to 6 or 7 m.p.h.; on lines outside of the Loop, 12 m.p.h. or more, average running speed 11.2 m.p.h. This very real accomplishment stands out in comparison with a two-track rapid transit line which usually runs about 17 m.p.h. without express service.

The whole problem of higher speed rests upon a carefully designed base thoroughfare plan and a close technical study of efficient routing and operation.

HEADWAYS AND CAPACITIES

Second, density and capacities. Rush-hour movement today is demanding headways or car-spacing as short as 19 to 22 seconds, as in Chicago, Philadelphia, Montreal and even Washington. As these close headways are about the same as the average loading time at the heaviest loading point, the maximum throat capacities have already been reached or exceeded. In fact, with cars spaced closer than 30 seconds headway, the line is usually slowed down during rush hours below an acceptable speed. But intensive studies of traffic control, street plan and re-routing will usually point the way out.

It should require no further argument to show that rails are now and will be for some time the mainstay of local transportation with no visible alternative except the motor-coach auxiliary; for private transport has found its own fatal limitations, *i.e.*, lack of terminal facilities in cheap and convenient day storage, and disproportionate use of street space.

As to capacity, modern railway cars average well over 40 seats, usually with a comfortable carrying capacity of 75 to 85 passengers; also loading speeds of one second per passenger, or perhaps one-half second on the pay-as-you-leave plan with platform reservoir capacity to load promptly groups of 10 to 20 people. In fact, articulated two-car three-truck units are being developed for rush service with nearly 200 carrying capacity and the whole industry is undergoing active modernization. Thus the modern car line should realize rush capacities of 10,000 to 12,000 passengers per hour with reasonable speed and requiring but one *fixed* traffic lane, 8½ feet wide or about 10 feet in gross clearance width.

Motor buses, on the other hand, have serious limitations in such dense service, lacking peak overload capacity, accelerating speed, platform and aisle space, door width, etc., and actually requiring more lane width because of their habit of weaving across the traffic lanes or straddling instead of following a definite lane as street cars do.

But when properly coördinated, the coach should find ample usefulness in local transport for "boulevard express" runs, feeder and cross-town lines, extension or "feeler" lines in outlying suburbs, "stop-loss" service on existing lines, short runs along heavy railway trunks, and certain heavy duty services as in New York, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis and Washington. Also in special de-luxe limited service at higher fare.

ABANDON "TOWN-PUMP" IDEA OF TERMINAL ROUTING

Third, routing and operating efficiency. This is a railway problem deeply involving the franchise questions, personality of management and general resistance against change. Many railway companies, like steam railroads, seem to shy at engineering analysis and economic research as applied to traffic and transportation departments. Yet these have primary control of nearly *half of the operating cost*, and to a large degree, the success or failure of the whole public service. It has become the main road to the recapture of lost riding habit.

In many cities the "town-pump" idea of terminal routing still prevails, with complicated trackage, overloaded throats and crossings, and often a transfer charge to add to the discouragement of cross-town riding. So the automobile flourishes. Some round cities, like Washington and Baltimore, are almost entirely through-routed and have to be to operate at all. Chicago's longest through routes, 18 to 20 miles long, developed no greater

average haul than most of the terminal Loop routes. The principle of through-routing is primarily one of mechanical convenience and operating efficiency, spreading the business district and increasing public facilities. But it must be applied with intelligence and detailed study of local conditions and balancing of service.

Other methods of improvement include wider distribution of routes, cars and loading points, short turns and turnbacks, multiple berthing of cars for rapid loading and movement through crossings, methods of expediting loading and unloading, safety zones, etc., always designed for the city itself, not by copying other cities.

Unification, by agreement, if not by ownership, is often required for most efficient routing, illustrated by the two independent systems of Washington. And the routing system must be worked out in connection with the city plan to avoid such obvious handicaps as exist in Washington today, where each of the two systems has important routes with forty or more turns per round trip due to obstructions in main arteries because the original city plan was designed for architectural vistas rather than traffic efficiency.

The definite value of economic study and planning is well illustrated by the Chicago terminal re-routing in 1924 which saved in trainmen's wages at the rate of $460,000 per year, released 41 cars for service elsewhere, eliminated 11,000 turns per day on 35 routes, and generally speeded up operations. In another recent survey by the writer in a city of 500,000 people, over $600,000 saving in transportation costs a year was estimated from re-routing, simplification of terminal trackage, re-assignment of waste service, etc., all resulting in better running speed and closer approximation of actual origin-destination of riders.

COÖPERATION WILL RESTORE MASS TRANSPORT

The city planners, the traffic authorities and the railway technicians have generally been working too independently, if not at direct odds. Chicago has proven the value of coöperation. With reasonable efficiency, it seems clear that mass transport systems may regain much of the lost riding habit and give both companies and cities a breathing spell for more careful study and planning for the future of both surface and rapid transit. Any theory of planning or traffic control which subordinates these basic services is deliberately sacrificing the greatest public benefit of the community.

SUMMARY

1. We should plan now for cities twice their present size, in steps suited to growth as it occurs. Forewarned is forearmed.

2. It would take over 2,500,000 autos to handle the rush-hour load of our twenty-two large cities of over 75,000 registration. The impossibility of running this vast fleet renders imperative the maximum preferential use of large-capacity vehicles.

3. Hence surface railways, which carry well over ten times the traffic of our steam railroads, must continue to function for some time to come, except in very large and small cities, as the backbone of mass transportation, supplemented by motor-coach services.

4. Railways function best by distribution, and may thus become a valuable corrective to the "town-pump" type of business center which inevitably brings congestion and later forces expansion or partial migration. "Skyscraping" has become a dangerous pastime.

5. The highest possible average operating speed is the greatest need today

to reduce congestion caused by individual transport, and to recapture the lost riding habit. And the main hope of interim rapid transit appears to rest with "express" buses on separate speedways.

6. The city plan should therefore recognize mass transport as the primary source of control over healthy city growth, not as a subordinate factor, and should organize usage by separating express speedways and fast-transit streets from slow-trucking streets.

7. The great cost of paving about 1,000 miles of streets per million of city population emphasizes the great need of planning and paving streets for most efficient use of fast and slow traffic and light traffic respectively.

8. The traffic control plan should provide protected fast streets and should signal the main intersections and transit trunks for continuous rather than intermittent movement, and with the shortest possible signal cycle.

9. More efficient transit routing, both line and terminal, offers wide opportunities for increased average speed, convenience to car-riders, and reduced operating costs.

10. Higher operating efficiency, needed particularly in the transportation department to promote good will and growth, is obtainable only through constant research in changing loads and traffic origins.

11. Traffic authorities should cooperate, and utilize the technical experience of railway engineers in adapting traffic control systems to local needs.

SCHENECTADY'S LONG-TERM FINANCIAL PROGRAM

BY HAROLD I. BAUMES

Staff Member, Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc.

Schenectady budgets her capital improvements ten years in advance. The program can be executed with little increase in tax rate. :: ::

Soon after the organization of the Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, the need for a financial plan for the city was impressed upon city officials and taxpayers, and, at the suggestion of the Bureau, the mayor sought the common council's permission to appoint a "Capital Budget Commission" to draw such a plan. The council approved the mayor's request and added that the coöperation of the Bureau of Municipal Research should be solicited.

THE COMMISSION'S TASK

Last July the mayor appointed a Capital Budget Commission consisting of four city officials and three civilians. At the first meeting of the commission, the president of the common council was elected chairman and the managing director of the Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, permanent secretary. This group convened about twenty-five times during the year to consider detailed studies made by the Bureau of Research and to arrive at final conclusions in regard to financial problems of the city. The purpose of this non-political body was to decide: (1) What public improvements suggested were most essential to the welfare of Schenectady, and (2) how many of these could be made during each of

the next ten years without causing an appreciable increase in taxes.

PRELIMINARY STUDIES

Preliminary reports dealing with all phases of long-term financial planning were prepared by the Bureau for the consideration of the commission. The first report, entitled *Introduction to a Long-Term Financial Program for Schenectady*, concluded that if current city expenditures continued to increase for the next ten years at the same rate as during the last ten years, the anticipated income at the present tax rate ($22.81 per $1,000 valuation) would not be sufficient to cover them, and consequently money would have to be raised by obtaining new sources of revenue, borrowing, or raising the present tax rate.

A study of *Schenectady's Population* demonstrated that the rate of growth of the city was decreasing, and that unless new industry is attracted to the city, the population may be expected to increase very slowly.

A survey of the *Physical Expansion* of the city pointed out the fact that the political boundaries of the city do not embrace the total natural physical growth of the city. Present tendencies point to the fact that future growth may take place largely beyond our present city lines. Therefore, increases in assessed valuations will appear largely outside the city and will be of no direct benefit to Schenectady from the point of view of taxation. Nevertheless, capital outlays for improvements such as sewers, designed to serve areas outside the city's boundaries as well as within, must be made, and unless these areas elect to come within the political city boundary, the city must bear, almost invariably, more than a proportionate share of such improvements.

A fourth report, on *Departmental and Miscellaneous Revenues*, showed that sources not now utilized could be added profitably to those in the present system, and certain schedules of payments for licenses and permits could also be revised with the possible result of increasing the city's income by about $35,000 a year.

A detailed study of the *Bonded Debt* exclusive of water bonds and special assessments as of July 27, 1928, showed that there were bonds outstanding to the amount of over $7,000,000; that the principal and interest payments combined on the debt outstanding at present will amount to over $1,000,000 a year; and that the last payment on bonds outstanding will not be made until 1948. This study was of the utmost importance to the commission in enabling it to arrange the retirement of bond issues anticipated for future public improvements so that the debt payments would remain nearly constant and not reach such proportions as to necessitate a much higher tax in certain years than is experienced this year.

Consideration was also given the *Special Assessment Debt* of the city. The principal and interest outstanding on special assessment projects certified to July 30, 1928, plus those authorized to September 1, 1928, amount to about $3,000,000, and the annual payments on these assessments totaled nearly $300,000 in 1927 and 1928.

ONLY ESSENTIAL IMPROVEMENTS INCLUDED

With these preliminary surveys to guide them, the commission has been able to draw up a long-term budget of capital expenditures for improvements which are absolutely essential to the welfare and economic efficiency of the city and its inhabitants. Budget request forms were sent to every depart-

ment head in the city, and on these blanks, estimates of future operating expenses were made. Each department head was asked also to submit a list of public improvements which, in his opinion, should be undertaken during the next ten years. These lists were supplemented by those from civic organizations and interested citizens.

Improvements which were requested and desirable, but which in the opinion of the commission were not of immediate necessity, were not included in the schedule of improvements. Every effort has been put forth to arrange a capital budget which can be met by the average taxpayer and also is compatible with a healthy growth and constructive improvements in Schenectady. The program of improvements has been arranged so that the immediate needs of the community will be satisfied first. Those projects which are not mandatory at present, but which clearly would be so within the scope of the financial program, were included in the latter part of the ten-year program in the years when it appears that they will become essential to the community. Any possibility of haphazard commitments to capital expenditures or unwise and ill-considered financing has been removed by the conclusions and recommendations of the Capital Budget Commission. Each issue of bonds has been fitted into the whole ten-year program at the time most consistent with both the needs of the community and the ability of the taxpayer to assume the burden. By viewing this program as a whole, the proper place for each single improvement could be more clearly seen than is the case when one bond issue is considered individually with little thought of its relation to all other projects for which bonds have been issued, or are soon to be authorized.

PROGRAM PERMITS DEBT PAYMENTS TO RECEDE AFTER 1931

Over 27 per cent of the 1929 city tax levy will be used to retire debt and pay interest. The 1919 budget contemplated a principal payment of $331,000 plus interest charges of about $198,000, or a total debt charge of $529,000.

The city tax levy for 1929 raised a total of about $1,253,000 for this purpose—an increase of 136 per cent during the last ten years. These data demonstrate conclusively that debt charges have been mounting rapidly during this period.

Naturally the payment of principal and interest totaling over $9,000,000 on the debt now outstanding will be felt keenly in the next few years. This was the most difficult thing the commission had to face in view of the fact that our assessed valuations are increasing slowly. The assumption of the large bond issues for a high school and a city hall, together with certain minor improvements, and payments which have to be made on the debt already outstanding, probably will cause an increase in taxes in the next five years. The increase will not be great, and appears to be unavoidable in view of the large debt already incurred. The valuable and badly needed improvements to be made are well worth the slight increase in taxes incurred by their authorization. The city hall and large senior high school are improvements which need not be repeated for many years; their inclusion in the program is immediately necessary.

Close adherence to the program outlined will allow taxes to recede to their present level toward the close of the improvement period. Debt payments will actually become less each year of the ten-year period after 1931, and if the schedule of capital expenditures is

followed, these payments will not be increased by bond issues suggested in later years and not included in the capital budget. In other words, the report of the commission points the way to the cessation of continually increasing debt charges and to the establishment of a tax rate within the ability of the average taxpayer to pay. At the same time a constructive program of public improvements consistent with healthy community growth and sound municipal finance is made possible.

ESTIMATES TRIMMED TO $5,000,000

The commission reduced the preliminary program of public improvements totaling $9,174,000 to a final schedule totaling $5,171,000. Practically all of the projects listed in the preliminary program were desirable, but it was felt that not all were absolutely essential to the needs of the city. The increase in taxes which would have been imminent had this preliminary program been adopted was so great as to make the adoption of all the improvements prohibitory. The commission, after much deliberation and consultation with city officials, included in the final approved program of capital expenditures only those projects which were essential to economic efficiency and sound municipal progress and growth. Under the program as finally recommended, the tax on a $10,000 property will be $1.40 lower in 1930 and $15.30 lower in 1938 than would have been the case had the preliminary program of improvements totaling $9,174,000 been adopted in its entirety.

In conclusion the commission called attention to a number of items which, it believed, contained possibilities of savings in current operating costs. These suggestions were in the nature of consolidation of bureaus, reorganization of administrative machinery and changes to effect economies. It is felt that all the suggestions made as a result of a general survey of the activities of the city government are constructive, and that changes made according to these suggestions will be to the advantage of both city officials and taxpayers.

In addition to the ten-year budget submitted the Commission has recommended the passage of a local law providing for the permanent organization of a capital budget commission for the continued encouragement of sound municipal finance.

CINCINNATI'S CITY WORKHOUSE

BY C. O. SHERRILL

City Manager of Cincinnati

The renovated workhouse reclaims men and equips them for useful employment instead of rendering them less fit for society. :: :: ::

THE workhouse at Cincinnati is located reasonably near the center of the city on a tract of ground of about sixteen acres. It consists of a building capable of housing approximately 800 prisoners, also a large number of auxiliary buildings which in the past were used for private industry with prisoners being farmed out.

In 1918 it was decided that the city prisoners could better be handled in the county jail, which had just then been finished. Consequently, the workhouse was closed as a correctional institution.

In 1926, with the inauguration of the manager form of government in Cincinnati, a comprehensive survey was made of the situation of correctional activities and care of prisoners, with a result that the methods were found to be extremely unsatisfactory. The county jail was packed almost to double its planned capacity, with absolutely no facilities for giving the prisoners useful occupation, and with the corridors jammed with idle men undergoing deterioration at a rapid rate after admittance to the institution.

THE WORKHOUSE REËSTABLISHED

It was therefore decided by the city council, on recommendation of the city manager, that the workhouse should be reopened. This was done during that summer of 1926, and arrangements were made for the care of all city prisoners at this location.

The buildings, which had fallen into a dreadful state of dilapidation, were renovated largely by prison labor at very small cost. The city's central garage, the highway maintenance bureau, the waste collection department, and the paint and sign shop were moved to the workhouse, and since that time have been operated with a small number of experts assisted by prison labor. The result has been the development of a great industrial plant with prison labor as the operating force under the direction and training and supervision of expert mechanics and foremen. At the present time these activities are being expanded through the construction of a 350-ton-per-day incinerator plant for the city's wastes except garbage. There is also being constructed a laundry capable of handling all of the laundry work of the city institutions including the city hospital, which has an average daily personnel of staff and patients of approximately 1,200.

All the common labor necessary for these activities will be furnished by prisoners. In addition to these activities within the walls, a considerable part of the work of the highways and street cleaning departments is carried on by prisoners sent out from the workhouse in groups of six or more under guard. For instance, one squad devotes its entire time to cleaning up unsightly conditions throughout the city, cutting weeds on vacant lots, removing débris, and acting as a general moving patrol to keep the unsightly places of the city in hand. This work is accomplished through the coöperative supervision of the sanitary inspectors of the health department, the foremen of the waste collection department, and the guards actively in charge of the prisoners.

The guards are trained not only to see that the men do not escape, but also to give supervision and direction to them in any class of work they may be called on to do, very much like the provost guard at a military post which supervises all classes of miscellaneous work to be done. Other detachments of prisoners are constantly used as laborers in the maintenance, care, and improvement of the airport. Other detachments are used constantly on excavation of material along highways from hillslides and in other grading operations. The prisoners also assist in occasional labor work at the city hall which cannot be handled by the ordinary janitorial force. When the incinerator and laundry are completed, there will be approximately twenty-five prisoners working in the incinerator, and at least that many or more in the laundry, with a saving to the city of at least $30,000 a year on the laundry work heretofore done at the General Hospital.

GREAT IMPROVEMENT IN MORALE

The success of this plan of considering the body of prisoners as a reservoir of prison labor something like the labor

battalions in France has had the most remarkable success, not only in the output of work accomplished by these men but more particularly in the tremendous improvement in their morale and contentment while in the workhouse. It is a common remark by all visitors that they have never seen a better looking lot of men. There have been many cases in which prisoners have requested to be allowed to remain in the institution after their service is over, or to be given jobs at the workhouse. This is habitually done when it can be arranged. One man, a painter, on termination of his sentence last winter asked that he might remain in the workhouse without compensation until the opening up of construction activities in the spring. He was retained and paid the usual labor wage for miscellaneous work until he could find employment on the outside.

V. D. QUARANTINE

In addition to the activities mentioned above, there has been established at the workhouse an extensive quarantine area designated by the municipal board of health, where women infected with venereal diseases are taken by the police for examination, and if found infected are placed in quarantine until cured. The procedure in handling these cases has worked infinitely better than the old practice of taking these women into court, for the reason that in general the municipal judges give the most trivial sentences for this offense, and repeaters were frequent. When it was found that no satisfactory results in these matters could be secured through the courts, the state health law was invoked, and a quarantine procedure was set up with tremendous benefit to the public health and an equal benefit in checking and reducing the evil of flagrant solicitation on the streets.

A similar institution has recently been established for men at the workhouse, and is operating with equal success. The extent of this evil as found by examination of workhouse inmates is perfectly appalling, running to between 50 and 75 per cent of those admitted. The state law allows the quarantine of men with these diseases as well as of women. As yet this authority is being exercised only to a limited extent, but with much benefit to the public health.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

The operation of the city workhouse is under the director of service through a bureau known as the bureau of city work and workhouse. This arrangement was made because of the necessity of unified control over all the operations at the workhouse considered as an industrial institution, so that the superintendent of the workhouse becomes the general manager of Cincinnati's Industrial Institution operated by prison labor under the supervision of expert employees. He has an adequate force of uniformed guards, of technicians for the operation of all industrial establishments, and for their feeding, housing, recreation and general welfare.

When the workhouse was reëstablished, many of the civic organizations interested in welfare matters were quite insistent that it be operated by the welfare department of the city. This I opposed, for the reason that more efficient operation would be secured under the director of service. The welfare department has been assigned full charge of all welfare activities connected with the prisoners and their families with such matters as educational work, recreation, health, relief, placement and follow-up after discharge, and the contacts with and general attention to the requirements

of the families of the prisoners while they are incarcerated. So successful has this joint operation been in leaving the welfare department free from administrative matters, to devote their entire attention to the real welfare problems of the prisoners and their families, that the director of welfare now is enthusiastic for the present method. The welfare problems of a city are so extensive that it is impossible for the department to operate adequately all these activities and at the same time be responsible for the large plant at the workhouse.

WELFARE CLOSELY WATCHED

Welfare organizers operating directly under the welfare department are maintained constantly at the workhouse, and keep a constant supervision over the classification of prisoners, the labor on which they are employed, and the educational and relief work appropriate to the prisoners. All prisoners are given an opportunity to take educational work. Lectures on health and hygiene, technical subjects, and general talks on citizenship are given. Certain periods are set aside for minor educational work, as most of the prisoners have an exceedingly limited fundamental education. The educational work also includes usual and comprehensive instruction in many of the trades such as automobile mechanics, repair men, painting, sign makers, vulcanizers, tire repairers, machinists, and other trades of importance to men in industrial communities. All prisoners whose behavior is good are allowed a certain recreation period every day in the courtyard of the workhouse, which is a large, open, shady area, attractive, and free from any trace of prison atmosphere.

When the workhouse was reëstablished, those interested in welfare matters were also insistent that it should be reëstablished far out in the country as a work farm. This I opposed, for the reason that a farm is not a satisfactory place to give inmates a steady, useful employment throughout the year. During the winter months there is very little activity on a farm, and detention inside the buildings without adequate employment could only result in a lowering of morale and the deterioration of the inmates. It was my theory, which has been more than confirmed by practice, that prisoners today are generally city men, and must be better trained to earn their livelihood in urban industrial methods rather than trained in farming methods which none of them will utilize after they are released. This theory has worked out splendidly, and every one agrees that not a man leaves the workhouse who is not better prepared to carry on his duties of citizenship. The work farm is fine in theory, but does not, in my opinion, fit into the conditions of modern urban life. What men want to know, and what they should be taught, is how to compete successfully with their associates in industrial establishments in their own city, particularly, and in others of similar type.

VOTERS TURN THUMBS DOWN ON PITTSBURGH'S METROPOLITAN CHARTER

BY MARTIN L. FAUST

University of Pittsburgh

Although a majority of the voters of Allegheny County approved the charter after emasculation by the state legislature, it did not receive the necessary two-thirds vote in a majority of the municipal units. ::

On Tuesday, June 25, the voters of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, voted on the adoption of the metropolitan charter recently enacted and submitted by the Pennsylvania legislature. The charter, in accordance with the terms of the constitutional amendment under which it was submitted, was not to go into effect unless approved by a majority vote in the entire county and a two-thirds vote in a majority of the 122 municipal subdivisions. While the charter received a majority vote in its favor of approximately 48,000 votes in the entire county, it received a two-thirds vote in its favor in only 47 municipalities. As a result of this election, the Pittsburgh metropolitan plan for a federated city will not be put into operation possibly for some years to come.

A further analysis of the vote may be of interest. In the first place, the vote on the charter was exceedingly light. While Allegheny county polled approximately 380,000 votes in the presidential election last November, the special election on the charter brought out only 132,000 voters. In Pittsburgh, with a registration of approximately 183,000, only about 56,000 participated in the charter election. Another interesting contrast is the vote of 132,000 on the charter as against the vote of 213,000 cast last November in Allegheny County on the constitutional amendment provision which authorized the submission of the charter. The Pittsburgh vote was 8 to 1 in favor of the charter. But in the three third-class cities (McKeesport, Duquesne, Clairton), the vote was heavily against the charter. In McKeesport, the largest municipality next to Pittsburgh, with a population of about 52,000, the vote was 12 to 1 against the charter. In the minor municipal subdivisions the vote was more evenly divided. Of the 65 boroughs, 32 gave a two-thirds vote. Of the 33 that failed to support the charter with a two-thirds vote, 18 gave a majority in its favor. Thus 50 of the 65 boroughs actually polled a majority vote in favor of the charter. Of the 53 townships, only 14 reported a two-thirds vote in favor of the charter. But here again, of the 39 that failed to give a two-thirds vote, 17 gave a majority, so that 31 of the 53 townships supported the charter with a majority vote.

The original constitutional amendment provision when submitted to the legislature by the Metropolitan Plan Commission in 1926 contained the clause that the charter to go into effect must receive a majority vote in the county and a majority vote in two-thirds of the municipalities. But when this clause emerged from the legislature, the latter part was changed to read a two-thirds vote in a majority of the municipalities. This alteration has never been satisfactorily explained. It

has been attributed to an error on the part of a legislative clerk, although it has also been stated that the change was made at the instance of the leader of the opposition without the other legislators being aware of the alteration until after it was too late. At all events, the two-thirds vote provision was fatal to the success of the charter, and it will be very difficult to secure the acceptance of any charter as long as this hurdle remains in the constitution.

WHAT CHARTER WOULD HAVE DONE

While the charter submitted by the legislature undoubtedly opened the way for a constructive solution of some of the problems of metropolitan Pittsburgh, in reality it contained very few provisions that would have resulted in any immediate and substantial improvements in the governmental arrangements of the Pittsburgh area. In substance, the charter created a metropolitan government to be known as the City of Pittsburgh which was to take the place of the existing county government. In addition to the powers of the county government, the metropolitan government was granted the following powers: power to designate and maintain through-traffic streets; power to exercise planning and zoning powers except where in conflict with ordinances of municipal divisions; power to create special tax districts to finance improvements for the exclusive benefit of such districts; power to levy special assessments upon abutting and non-abutting property materially benefited by a public improvement; power to make and enforce public health regulations; and, finally, power to create a metropolitan police department. The charter also substituted a board of seven commissioners for the existing board of three commissioners.

In accordance with the terms of the amendment, the charter authorized the continuance within the metropolitan government of all the cities, boroughs, and townships with their present names, boundaries, and governments, and with complete power over all matters of local interest. Possibly the strongest argument in favor of the charter was the fact that under the terms of the constitutional provision, the amendment of a charter can be accomplished by an act of the legislature with subsequent ratification by a majority vote. Amendments reducing the powers of the municipal divisions must be ratified by a majority of the electors voting thereon in each of a majority of the divisions. In view, therefore, of the difficulty involved in securing original adoption and the comparative ease of subsequent amendment, many felt that however disappointing the contents of the charter might be, the important thing was to get some sort of a charter passed, since the constructive reforms would have much better chance of adoption later on if added as amendments to the original charter.

A POLITICIANS' CHARTER

The charter voted on at the special election was the politicians' charter. The original draft of the commission's charter presented to the legislature did strike at some of the serious abuses and glaring inconsistencies inherent in the present governmental arrangements. This original draft, which was actually introduced in the legislature, reorganized completely the antiquated and dilapidated system of justices of the peace and aldermen, substituting in its place a minor court system administered by appointive justices under the supervision of the county court; it eliminated the expensive and absurd system of duplicate assessment of real estate in Pittsburgh; it incorporated provisions that would have assured a

modern assessment office and the application of scientific methods in assessment procedure; it abolished the poor board and consolidated the welfare agencies of the city and county under one department of public welfare; it set up a department of personnel that was to certify to the fitness of the public employees; it made mandatory an independent audit of the metropolitan government by a recognized firm of public accountants at least once every four years; it established a department of research that was to give continuous study to the governmental problems of the region.

As soon as the city and county politicians scanned these provisions, they dispatched their henchmen to Harrisburg to secure their elimination. Without the slightest difficulty, the charter was completely emasculated to conform to the desires of the politicians, with the result that every one of the above provisions and a number of others were entirely excluded. The politicians of course saw to it that the plan of the commission's charter to give the name of the City of Pittsburgh to the entire county was carried over into the amended charter, since this would entirely satisfy the Chamber of Commerce and the powerful industrial leaders whose sole interest in the metropolitan plan all along has been an increased census rating for Pittsburgh.

But the really disgusting part of the whole procedure was the fact that neither the commission nor any Pittsburgh civic body offered the slightest whimper in opposition to the politicians' treatment of the charter. The president of the Allegheny County Bar Association in a public statement denounced the commission's recommendations on the reorganization of the minor courts, although these provisions had been enthusiastically endorsed by such eminent authorities as Reginald Heber Smith and Roscoe Pound. The *Pittsburgh Press*, the local Scripps-Howard paper, damned the commission's charter with faint praise and was one of the first to climb on the band wagon to support the charter of the politicians.

THE CAMPAIGN A LOVE FEAST

The charter campaign turned out to be a glorious love feast. The charter commission, the Republican machine, the Democratic machine, the Chamber of Commerce, the Boards of Trade, the League of Women Voters, and all the civic bodies worked hand in hand to put over the charter. The center of the opposition was in the third-class cities, where the charter was denounced as a super-government. The campaign in reality degenerated into a campaign to make Pittsburgh the fourth city. If Pittsburgh could only get its proper census rating, new industries would flock to Pittsburgh, the workingman would be prosperous, government would be efficient, the suburbanites could register in hotels as residents of Pittsburgh, and blessings innumerable would flow to the people of the district. Typical of the campaign ballyhoo is the following extract from the keynote speech delivered before a general mass meeting of the civic bodies by the Hon. James Francis Burke:

> Make your great city a reality and tomorrow Uncle Sam's official records, the geographies in every American school, and the official bulletins of the governments of the world will be contributing millions of dollars of free advertising of the fourth city in all America.

And the following by the Chamber of Commerce press agent is another sample:

> If the metropolitan charter goes through as handily on Tuesday as it ought to, the newspapers in this country and Europe will quit calling us "Pittsburgh, Pa.," and will call us

"Pittsburgh, U. S. A.," or simply "Pittsburgh, Earth."

CENSUS HOKUM NOT EFFECTIVE WITH VOTERS

The light vote at the charter election was at least evidence that the citizens were not carried away by this census hokum. What the future policy of the commission will be has not been divulged at this writing. The legislature of this year continued the commission for two more years. It can submit the same charter or a new charter at any special or general election. A new charter would have to be approved by the legislature before submission, but there seems to be some difference of opinion among attorneys whether the same charter could be resubmitted without legislative authorization each time, since the amendment is not clear on this point.

Undoubtedly charters will be submitted from time to time. Meanwhile the Pittsburgh District will continue satisfied with its dilapidated and antiquated mechanism of government. Since there is neither the temper nor the disposition among those in high places to disturb seriously the *status quo*, it is very unlikely that any charter of the near future will embody those changes obviously imperative to organize the metropolitan government, which is to succeed to the county government, along modern and thoroughly scientific lines.

RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

POLITICS AND CRIMINAL PROSECUTION. By Raymond Moley. New York: Minton, Balch and Co., 1929. Pp. xii, 241.

This book, together with Edward D. Sullivan's *Rattling the Cup on Chicago Crime* (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1929) should be read by all intelligent laymen who desire a short course on the breakdown of the administration of our criminal law. Professor Moley brings out little that has not already been presented in such reports as *Criminal Justice in Cleveland*, *The Missouri Crime Survey* and the reports and bulletins of the Chicago Crime Commission, and the Crime Commission of New York State; but the leading part he has taken in some of these studies has equipped him to do an excellent job of extracting the meat from such technical sources for lay consumption. The title of his book is misleading; little material is presented on the actual interrelation between political influences and law enforcement. What the book rather shows is how our system of criminal prosecution is organized to open a wide door to political interference at almost every point.

The detection and arrest of criminals, and the whole subject of police efficiency, lie outside the field which Professor Moley has marked out for his study,—he is concerned primarily with what happens after arrest. Why arrests result from only one out of five of the more serious crimes committed is, therefore, not discussed; attention is focused on the problem of why only one arrest out of six results in punishment. In this part of the story the central place is held by the prosecuting attorney; the whole book is a running commentary on the key position of the prosecutor in determining the quality and character of our law enforcement.

The responsibility of the prosecutor is due to the part which he plays in the preliminary hearing of persons charged with crime, to his control over the action of the grand jury, to his power to "nolle-pros" or refrain from prosecution, and finally to his power to "bargain for pleas" of guilty by reducing the gravity of the offence charged, or by agreeing to support a request for a light sentence or parole. Professor Moley's statistics show that in New York, Chicago, and other large cities about half of the felony prosecutions fail at the stage of preliminary hearing. Of those which survive, about a fourth fail in the grand jury. In some places, including Chicago and Minneapolis, as high a percentage as another fourth have often been terminated by the *nolle prosequi*. Thus of all prosecutions instituted, hardly a fourth come to trial. At the trial stage, the practice of "bargaining for pleas," on which Professor Moley presents some highly significant new material, becomes of great importance. Of actual convictions in many of our large cities, including New York and Chicago, almost ninety per cent result from pleas of guilty, rather than from the verdict of a trial-jury. In New York City these pleas result in five instances out of six in reducing the offence charged to one of inferior gravity carrying a lighter penalty. For the purpose of building up a good record of convictions "assistant district attorneys often approach the defendant in the spirit of a marketplace."

What equipment and fitness has the prosecutor to sustain ably and efficiently the great responsibility which our system places upon him? In the rural districts Professor Moley finds that he is generally a young lawyer who has been at the bar five years or less, who has no police, detective, clerical, or medical force to aid him, and who is paid either by the fee system or a small salary of a few thousand dollars a year. The office is distinctly a preliminary "hurdle" for higher political preferment. In the larger cities prosecuting attorneys often have a numerous staff of assistants, but the salaries paid to these assistants are very low, the quality of the men is inferior, and, above all, the appointments are controlled as political patronage. The activities of the office are, therefore, generally subservient to the purposes of machine politicians upon whom the organized criminal underworld can exert direct pressure through their ability to marshal votes and contribute funds. "Insidious relationships exist between shady characters and public officials because votes and party funds are involved . . . the motif in the present order is, we believe, political."

Professor Moley has no panacea to effect a cure for an evil situation. The suggestions which he offers are in the direction of centralizing

the prosecuting function in state rather than county officers, and thus counteracting the effect of local influences. In the cities prosecution for less serious offences might advantageously be left to the police, thus releasing the state prosecutor for greater attention to more important crimes. The vigilance of private associations, such as crime commissions and credit organizations, in stimulating and pressing prosecutions in their respective fields of interest is bound to be a permanent and necessary factor in maintaining the efficiency of prosecuting machinery.

JOHN DICKINSON.

Princeton University.

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OUTDOOR RECREATION LEGISLATION AND ITS EFFECTIVENESS. By Andrew G. Truxal, Ph.D. Columbia Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, No. 311. New York: Columbia University Press. 1929. Pp. 218.

There are two rather sharply divided parts to this study. The first is an analysis of municipal, state and federal laws that relate to outdoor phases of public recreation. The chapter dealing with state and local legislative provisions is probably of the most immediate practical interest, discussing the effect of "home rule," the set-up of the various city recreation systems and the adequacy of existing laws. Legislation passed by the state and national governments concerns primarily parks and forest areas. The recent and rapid expansion of state park systems has been due in part to popular demand for such areas for recreational and tourist purposes. The author calls attention to the present almost complete lack of coördination in the conduct of public recreation by the various governmental units. In addition to this analysis, two other chapters consider the effect of city planning and zoning laws and rules on municipal recreation, and the liabilities of cities for playground injuries.

The second part summarizes the results of a survey of the relationship between juvenile delinquency and the adequacy of play spaces in the Borough of Manhattan. Only a very moderate correlation was found, showing the importance of other social factors affecting the amount of juvenile delinquency. Both studies are well organized, clearly written, carefully made and of considerable value to students of recreation. The value of the legislative analyses would have been increased if more criticisms and conclusions had accompanied the excellent statement of facts. The importance of the juvenile delinquency study lies not so much in the conclusions reached as in the methods employed and in the portrayal of the difficulties involved in making such a survey.

RANDOLPH O. HUUS.

Western Reserve University.

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CENTRAL PARK AS A WORK OF ART AND AS A GREAT MUNICIPAL ENTERPRISE. Volume II on *Forty Years of Landscape Architecture*—Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., edited by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., and Theodora Kimball. New York: Putnam, 1928. Pp. 575.

"Central Park" furnishes the title and theme of the second volume of the Life and Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., edited by his son, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., and Theodora Kimball, under the comprehensive title, "Forty Years of Landscape Architecture." Volume I comprises brief notes on the life of Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., with selections from his early letters and writings. The volume on Central Park covers a span of forty-two years, from 1853 to 1895. Part I of the Central Park volume presents two hundred pages of absorbing interest, not only to those who know and love Central Park and all it means in the hurly-burly of modern New York, but to those who are struggling to bring into other nerve-racking cities the mental poise, the physical recreation and the spiritual calm which may be drawn from the enjoyment of natural landscape.

In response to the agitation of William Cullen Bryant, Andrew Jackson Downing and others, the Central Park project was authorized by the state of New York in 1851. Actual taking of land began in 1853 and continued to 1856. In 1857 a board of eleven commissioners was created to supersede the temporary government of the park, and in that year Frederick Law Olmsted became superintendent of the park.

One of the first acts of the board of commissioners was to offer prizes for the best designs for laying out the grounds of Central Park. Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux won the first prize from the thirty-five sets of drawings submitted to the board, and they subsequently became the chief landscape architects of Central Park. Their drawings with the accompanying explanations served Mr. Hermann Merkel in his 1927 Report to the Commissioners of Parks in

the Borough of Manhattan as a basis for his recommended rehabilitation.

The descriptive report accompanying the design of Olmsted and Vaux presents a conception of a park, its object, its uses and the reason for a Central Park design. The park, which was conceived throughout as a single work of art, was pictured as the center of an area which would in the years to come be occupied by buildings and paved streets. For millions of persons this park would offer the principal and perhaps the only contact with country conditions.

The story of how the park was actually constructed, of the obstacles to its realization, of the interruptions of the Civil War, of the discharge of Olmsted and Vaux as chief landscape architects and the damaging alterations ordered by the Tweed Ring, of the temporary rehabilitation 1871–73, of the harassing years of 1873–74 and the "spoils of the park" which Mr. Olmsted pointed out in a statement made in 1882, lead the reader to see how the park plan proceeded in spite of politics and shortsighted or blind officials.

The book is at once a guide in the art of park design and construction, an analysis of park administration, and a history which should encourage and stimulate those of our day who are fighting the battle for adequate, well-designed parks.

Part II presents the detailed papers of Olmsted and Vaux and offers an invaluable text for the study of landscape architects, park designers and park commissioners.

The editors are to be congratulated for having put in permanent accessible form the Olmsted papers relating to Central Park.

HARLEAN JAMES.

Executive Secretary,
American Civic Association.

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THE SCHOOL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROBLEM OF OHIO. By the Research Department of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce. Pp. 111, mimeographed.

This report deals with the reorganization of the machinery of local government in Ohio as applied to counties, townships, and school districts. Chief attention, however, is given to rural school organization. The report presents several interesting and significant tables showing the variation in pupil-teacher ratio and per pupil cost in Ohio elementary schools and high schools of different sizes. It clearly demonstrates the increase in class size and the decline in operating costs per pupil as the average daily attendance in the district rises. On the bases of economy and the educational advantages of the large school unit, the study urges the consolidation of schools and the substitution of the county for the existing school district organization. The report contains much useful ammunition for the hard campaign which must be waged before the county school unit will become a fact in Ohio.

The latter part of the report discusses the reorganization of county and township government. It adopts the position of the Joint Legislative Committee on Economy and Taxation, which recommended in 1927 the abolition of the township and the passage of a constitutional amendment permitting a thorough reorganization of the county. Special emphasis is placed upon the possibilities of the manager plan as applied to county government. In this field even more than in that of school organization a heavy and prolonged bombardment will be required before the old order will give way. In turning its guns upon the problem, the Chamber is rendering a very real service.

R. C. ATKINSON.

The Ohio Institute.

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STATE GOVERNMENT. By Walter F. Dodd. Second edition. New York: the Century Company, 1928. Pp. 604.

A text on American state government is full of perplexities. Not only must it assimilate and systematize a great variety of historical, legal and technical knowledge involving an amazing number of more or less unrelated political units, but it must meet the diverse requirements of class use by being readable, of ready reference by being comprehensive, and of research guide by being well documented.

Compared to the first edition (Century, 1922), Professor Dodd's book is much the same in length, emphasis and general treatment. It has, however, been thoroughly rewritten, rearranged and bibliographically revised.

When a book is as well done as this, criticism is likely to depend upon fundamental attitudes and proportions rather than on smaller matters of fact and technique. To say that the first few chapters appear somewhat overbalanced is merely to indicate an opinion that colonial antecedents and precedents of an historical and theoretical nature are as important as the more formal legal and descriptive materials that re-

ceive most of the systematic treatment. The discussion of administrative matters may seem unduly scattered. Whatever the difficulties of a functional presentation of governmental processes, administration, because of the similarity of its problems and its widely diffused services throughout all political areas, offers opportunity for effective, unified treatment. A chapter of nineteen pages on the conduct of elections would impress some as insufficient attention to the only public process that most students will ever perform, and one of such significance in applied democracy; and while two subsequent chapters deal with electoral questions, there is almost as much space given to the initiative, referendum and recall as to the whole field of party government.

But these are matters of emphasis and arrangement upon which students would disagree. The book is a superior one. It includes an astonishing number of topics significantly presented; and it offers thoroughly revised and extended bibliographical information that in itself sets a higher standard of usefulness.

JOHN F. SLY.

Harvard University.

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REPORT UPON A TEN-YEAR CAPITAL IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM FOR WAYNE COUNTY AS RECOMMENDED BY THE BOARD OF WAYNE COUNTY AUDITORS. Detroit, Michigan, 1928. Pp. 48.

This report in revised form is a resubmission of recommendations presented in 1927 to the board of supervisors of Wayne County. In the preparation of the report, the board of county auditors worked in conjunction with the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research and the governmental committee of the Detroit Board of Commerce.

The first section of the report presents a summary statement relative to the nature and extent of the functions performed by Wayne County, with particular emphasis upon the growth of its welfare activities, their cost, and the manner in which they are financed. The improvement program outlined calls for additional capital facilities for Wayne County's several institutions which will amount to approximately $6,972,000. While Wayne County is in a very fortunate position with respect to its bonded indebtedness, the financing program recommended by the board of county auditors provides for the "pay-as-you-go" plan to finance the proposed improvements. An act of the Michigan state legislature passed in 1926 provides that the board of supervisors is authorized to levy a tax of not to exceed two mills on the assessed valuation of the county each year for a period of not to exceed ten years, for the purpose of creating a sinking fund to be used for the purchase of real estate for sites or for the construction or repair of public buildings, provided that the proposition of levying such a tax shall be submitted to the electors of the county and approved by a majority of those voting thereon. It is the belief of the board of auditors that this law offers "a satisfactory and highly efficient solution" to the problem of financing the needed capital improvements.

The board recommends that the sinking fund feature be eliminated from the "pay-as-you-go" program. It is estimated in the report that the capital improvements amounting to approximately $7,000,000 could be financed by an average annual tax rate not to exceed 25 cents per thousand dollars on the entire taxable property of the county. It is proposed that no amount be raised in any one year during this ten-year period which would be in excess of actual budgeted requirements. The report also outlines a program of construction which could be carried out gradually throughout the ten-year period, and in accordance with the availability of the funds. The report concludes with the specific recommendation that the question of granting authority to the board of supervisors to levy a tax of not to exceed one-fourth of one mill yearly for a ten-year period be submitted to the electorate of Wayne County at the November election. Detailed and itemized statements and exhibits are included to substantiate the recommendations and conclusions of the board.

MARTIN L. FAUST.

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MUNICIPAL REPORTS

AUSTIN, TEXAS. *Report of the City Manager, Adam R. Johnson, for the Year 1928.* 90 pp.

The report marks a distinct advance over last year's issue. The most important improvement is in length, which is reduced more than half. The reviewer is hoping for a continuation of this policy for one more year at least. The report is attractive, printed on good quality paper, and is quite well illustrated. It still lacks some essentials of good reporting, however. For example, it has no organization chart, and the space al-

lotted to financial tables and statistics is out of all proportion to the other subject matter; in fact, more than one-third of the report is devoted to financial tables. A résumé of accomplishments at the beginning of the report is highly commendable and, on the whole, not many municipal reports can show an equal improvement in successive issues.

Brunswick, Georgia. *Annual Report for the Year 1928. E. C. Garvin, City Manager.* 63 pp.

Here is another report that shows a decided improvement over the previous issue, and when it is recalled that the Brunswick report ranked sixth among the seventeen rated last year, this becomes quite a compliment. This issue will rank high among this year's reports. The illustrative material is excellent; in fact, the charts are of such a high order that the reviewer predicts they will remain a mark for other report writers to aim at for several years. The written text is reduced to a minimum—one can read every word in the report in twenty minutes. The inquirer can find lots of information in the charts, however, and while some are a bit complicated for the uninitiated, on the whole they are clear and to the point. Looking through the pages of this report will convince one that graphs and charts often can record municipal undertakings much more effectively than can the printed word.

Two Rivers, Wisconsin. *Third Annual Report, Fiscal Year Ending December 31, 1928. E. J. Donnelly, City Manager.* 48 pp.

For a clear and concise record of the activities of a small city this report, in the opinion of the reviewer, comes as near as any similar report reviewed in these columns in the last three years. It is attractively bound in light green, with a scene in one of the city parks on the front cover. The report contains an organization chart, table of contents, a summary of accomplishments and recommendations for the future, a well-balanced content, and, above all, it contains less than fifty pages. With a few reservations, many small towns and cities would do well to follow the general features of this excellent report.

Clarence E. Ridley.

REPORTS AND PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

EDITED BY E. A. CRANDALL

Public Opportunities and Facilities for Leisure Time Recreation, Amusement and Instruction in American Cities.—By Frederick Rex, Librarian, Municipal Reference Library, Chicago, January, 1926. 114 pp. (Mimeographed.) A survey made at the request of the mayor of Chicago. There has been such a great demand for copies of this report that it has recently been put in its present form and made available for distribution. The publication gives the situation in Chicago and in other large American cities.

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Building Code and Plumbing Code Tabulation.—Prepared by the Division of Building and Housing, United States Department of Commerce, April, 1929. 60 pp. (Mimeographed.) A tabulation regarding building and plumbing codes now in use in cities with a population of over 5,000 according to the 1920 census. Of 858 municipalities, 159 have building codes that are ten years or more old, and 137 cities of the 840 reporting have plumbing codes at least ten years old. Amendments have often been enacted, however, to make the codes more up-to-date.

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An Analysis of the Generation and Distribution of Electric Power in Minnesota.—By the League of Minnesota Municipalities, June 5, 1929. 10 pp. Tables giving the sources of electric power for 912 cities in Minnesota, preceded by a summary analysis of the results brought out by the facts presented in the tables.

A Second Report on Waste Disposal by Incineration.—By the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, May, 1929. 53 pp. (Mimeographed.) A report prepared for the commissioner of public works of Detroit. The first report was submitted in January, 1928. This second report repeats many of the

facts given in the first, supplementing that information with additional facts that have been collected for the intervening period.

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Salaries of Village Officials in Wisconsin, 1929.—By Lorna L. Lewis, Municipal Information Bureau, University of Wisconsin, June, 1929. 17 pp. (Mimeographed.) An annual compilation giving the salaries for the year 1929–30. Of the 354 villages receiving the questionnaire, replies were received from 349.

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The Joint Bond Program, County, School District and City of Cincinnati, Annual Financial Analysis, 1929.—By the Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research, May, 1929. 22 pp. (Mimeographed.) The third report carrying the plan of programming bond expenditures in Cincinnati. It has been found to be a very useful aid to sound financing and "productive of a better technique and a more definite procedure."

*

County Management. A Review of Developing Plans of County Administration in Virginia and North Carolina.—By Wylie Kilpatrick. 46 pp. The fundamental purpose of the report is to inform the citizens of Virginia, but it will also be of interest to all those concerned either directly or indirectly with county management.

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Proposed Manual of Legislative Procedure for the City of Cincinnati.—By C. O. Rose, John D. Ellis and John B. Blandford, May, 1929. 44 pp. (Mimeographed.) A supplement of report number 14 of the Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research. The report is a compilation of legal requirements for legislative procedure in Cincinnati based upon the general code and the city charter.

*

Zoning, A Statement of Principles and Procedure.—By the Civic Development Department of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, June, 1929. 26 pp. A discussion of the procedure in zoning a community. Questions arising when an attempt is made to put zoning ideas into practice are here answered in clear and concise form.

*

An Inventory of Health Services in New York City.—By Michael M. Davis and Mary C. Jarrett, conducted by the Research Bureau of the Welfare Council of New York City, June 12, 1929. 82 pp. (Mimeographed.) Three types of services are covered in the report: (1) clinics, (2) home visiting, and (3) health education. A section of the report is devoted to these three services in each of the thirteen divisions of health services in general. There are found to be 300 agencies giving organized health service in New York City, of which the health department is one.

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Our Zoo and Information Concerning Zoos of Other Cities.—By Howard M. Wilson, Manager, Civic Affairs Department of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, May, 1929. 24 pp. (Mimeographed.) A report based on questionnaires sent to all cities in the United States with a population of 100,000 or more. The financing of zoos in various cities is discussed at the beginning of the report. A detailed description of the Cincinnati zoo follows. Finally, outstanding facts about zoos in other cities are tabulated by city.

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London Statistics, 1926–27.—By the London County Council, 1928. 476 pp. Annual statistics of the administrative county of London and of its public services with certain statistics of adjacent districts. In some tables, information for a year later than 1926–27 is given.

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Public Cleansing.—Extracts from the Annual Report of the Ministry of Health for 1927–28, London, 1928. 23 pp. Information on the collection and disposal of refuse and on street cleaning. The extract includes tables on municipal refuse giving, among other facts, unit costs, method of collection, and method of disposal. It also gives in similar tables details for street cleaning on net expenditures, unit costs, and mileage of streets cleansed.

GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION NOTES

EDITED BY RUSSELL FORBES
Secretary

Recent Reports of Research Agencies.—The following reports have been received at the central library of the Association since June 1, 1929:

Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research:
Proposed Manual of Legislative Procedure for the City of Cincinnati.
The Joint Bond Program, County-School District, City of Cincinnati.
Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.
A Second Report on Waste Disposal by Incineration.
Bureau of Budget and Efficiency, Los Angeles:
Proposed Budget for the Fiscal Year Beginning July 1, 1929—Ending June 30, 1930.
Westchester County Research Bureau:
The Bonded County Debt Situation in Westchester County.

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California Taxpayers' Association.—Rolland A. Vandegrift, for the past three years director of research of the Association, on July 1 assumed his duties as secretary. This promotion has come to Mr. Vandegrift after many years of service in the research field. Mr. Harold A. Stone of Syracuse University, for the past year chief engineer of the Association, succeeds Mr. Vandegrift as director of research.

The Association has just completed a survey of the economic policies and administrative practices of the Pasadena hospital, a private institution. As a result of the recommendations made by the survey, a reorganization of the hospital has been completed, with an annual saving of approximately $140,000 in its operating costs.

The research department recently completed a study and analysis of the Los Angeles city budget for the Los Angeles city committee. As a result of this study the following recommendations are now being considered by the Los Angeles city council:

1. That all departments be required, as is provided in the city charter, to keep within the percentage of increase indicated by population increase.

2. That no department be allowed any increase unless the reason therefor be apparent.

3. That all budget allowances be reduced to their lowest practical minimum and that an amount equal to a portion of such reductions be added to and carried in the unappropriated reserve under the control and direction of the council for use in extending any such appropriation that might prove, under proper expenditure, to have been too far reduced.

4. That the amount of $700,000 for the redemption and interest of general water bonds be eliminated from the budget, in accordance with the provisions of the city charter and the published pronouncement of the public service department.

5. That an amount of at least $2,000,000 be transferred from the reserve fund to meet budgetary requirements and that the amount to be raised from taxes be reduced by the same sum.

6. That provision be made in this budget for the auditing by public accountants of the records and accounts of the city which have not been so audited in the past. The cost of this audit can be met from the unappropriated balance without increasing the total budget.

7. That the amount to be raised in taxes be reduced.

If the city council adopts these recommendations it will mean a 13½ cent reduction in the Los Angeles city tax rate.

A proposed ten-year road improvement program for the fifth district of Santa Barbara County has been completed. This road district has been on the "pay-as-you-go" basis and the proposed program will continue in the same way. The improvement program will act as a basis for the district's road budget in each of the ten years covered by the survey. The program has been planned with a view of protecting the district's present investment in highways and also of gradually improving facilities to meet the demands of the traveling public. Very few items are included in the program which are not strictly capital outlay expenditures. The survey

contains maps of the entire road system and a complete plotting out of the improvements for the next ten years.

The research department has completed a study of the Glendale city budget. Before presenting the budget to the research department for study, the city council of Glendale reduced the budget by $48,269. The study by the Association reveals that the Glendale city accounts do not show free balances. The recommendation was made to the Glendale city council that the free balances be determined and an endeavor made to use a part of the balance toward reducing the revenue necessary to be raised from taxes. A recommendation was also made that the city manager annually publish a report showing the activities of the various city departments and the costs of running these departments.

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Citizens' Research Institute of Canada.—The director of the Institute is at present engaged on a survey of the Hamilton, Ontario, hospital situation, in conjunction with Dr. Haywood of Montreal, Quebec, and Dr. Walsh of Chicago.

A study has been made of the percentage of current tax levy collected in the larger Canadian cities in 1928 as compared with 1927. This study indicates considerable improvement, particularly in the western cities. In Ontario, thirteen cities showed improvement while nine had increased arrears. In Quebec and eastern cities improvement was shown except in two instances.

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Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research.—A report on the care of the indigent poor in quarantine was made recently by the Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research at the request of the city health department. Under the statutes the city is obliged to furnish provisions and fuel to indigent poor in quarantine. Investigation showed that there was a marked tendency among some families who really have means to take advantage of this privilege and obtain food at public expense.

Among the recommendations made by the Bureau and adopted by the health department was a detailed form of application for public relief in which the applicant must give all information about the family's resources and sign a statement promising to reimburse the city for the food expense when he is able. A food budget for families of various sizes will be given to the family in quarantine, limiting their purchases to certain staple provisions. This will tend to prevent overstocking of supplies. Other minor changes in records were also suggested.

Several tables and open letters were prepared for taxing officials urging them to hold down 1930 tax levies which will be fixed in July and August.

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Civic Department, Chamber of Commerce, Kansas City, Missouri.—A street traffic survey has been launched by the City-Wide Traffic Committee, which represents a coöperative movement for the solution of the street traffic problem and is supported by public officials and the civic and business organizations of Kansas City, acting under the sponsorship of the chamber of commerce.

Dr. Miller McClintock, director of the Erskine Bureau for Street Traffic Research of Harvard University, has been engaged to direct the survey, and Theodore M. Matson, who spent four years on a similar project in San Francisco, has been engaged as chief engineer. The survey is expected to cost $25,000, and to require a year for completion.

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The Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico.—A compilation of all bonded indebtedness of the state and its local subdivisions has been almost completed by the Association. In this connection it may be interesting to note that under the law passed by the last legislature all bond issues must be retired serially, beginning not later than the third year. All bond issues are limited to twenty years, with the exception of public utility bonds which may run thirty years. Under the constitution of the state of New Mexico bonds may be issued only upon a favorable vote of the people and, except in the case of school bonds, only taxpayers may vote upon bond issues.

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Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc.:

School space and condition survey. All of the elementary and intermediate schools of the city have been surveyed and the data gathered has been interpreted by the staff. This study involved an appraisal of the physical condition of each school plant and the measuring of each room in the school to determine the maximum legal capacity. Technical aspects of the report have been discussed with the superintendent of schools who stated that the survey would be of great value to the board of education in utilizing

existing structures and in considering the desirability of erecting new buildings.

Civil service salary trends. The salaries for all posts in the classified service have been set down for an eleven-year period, together with the percentage of increase and the names of the present incumbents. This material will be turned over to the board of estimate and apportionment for its guidance in drawing up a job classification and salary standardization plan for the municipal civil service.

Long-term financial and improvement program.[1] So many requests have come from other cities for the long-term financial program study that it has been necessary to provide additional copies. In order to make the report available to private citizens the Bureau has requested the common council to provide funds for printing it in the form of an attractive volume. It is planned to make up about 2,000 copies, which will be placed in the hands of private citizens and interested individuals in other communities. In order to obtain some action on the program, the president of the Bureau has appointed a committee of four directors to formulate and carry out a plan which will put the recommendations into immediate effect.

Future bureau projects. The Bureau staff has been engaged for the past month in surveying a number of municipal activities with a view to taking up some one of them as a major study for the fall months.

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St. Louis Bureau of Municipal Research.—St. Louis is now assured of a fair and sound retirement system for its policemen. A bill was recently signed by the governor creating a system and providing for its being placed in operation by October of this year. The plan was drawn by George B. Buck, consulting actuary, and is said to represent an outstanding piece of pension legislation. The actuarial plan was adopted after several attempts by the Board of Police Commissioners and policemen to secure a so-called cash disbursement plan had met with failure. After several years of almost continuous effort by the Bureau to secure consideration of the actuarial plan, the board of estimate and apportionment employed Mr. Buck to evaluate the cost of the system proposed and later to draft the actuarial plan.

A government for the St. Louis metropolitan region is again receiving consideration. The chamber of commerce of St. Louis City and St. Louis County have arranged to finance the cost of a survey and the preparation of a plan by Dr. Thomas H. Reed. The Bureau has been requested to collect all the financial statistics of the governmental units in the city and county area. It is expected that this work will be completed the latter part of this year and that it will form the basis for studies of the operations and functions of the county and the several municipal governments.

[1] See the article by Mr. Baumes, in this issue, pp. 522-525.

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Bureau of Civic Affairs, Toledo Chamber of Commerce.—Fire losses in Toledo for the first six months of 1929 amounted to only $241,086 as compared to $492,741 for the same period in 1928. This remarkable reduction is due to a considerable extent to the continuous campaign being waged against fire by the fire prevention committee of the Bureau. The Toledo fire department is also entitled to a great deal of credit for its quick response to fires, in this way being able to extinguish them before they cause extensive damage. A chief inspector of the city's bureau of fire prevention has been appointed, which will further aid the campaign.

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Toledo Commission of Publicity and Efficiency.—At the request of the director of public safety, statistics were gathered on the number of police in 37 cities of the United States ranging in size down to Dayton, Ohio, then tabulated with respect to ratio of police to population and the number of police per square mile. With regard to these cities, in the population range between Houston, Texas and Buffalo, New York, it was found that Toledo ranked tenth in the ratio of police to population and ninth in the number of police per square mile. The ratio of police to population ranged all the way from one policeman for every 339 people in New York to one policeman for every 1,372 people in Akron. The number of police per square mile varied likewise from 68.6 police per square mile in Jersey City to 2.79 in New Orleans.

Articles published by the commission in the Journal during the last month include a summary of the report of the division of fire during the last year which revealed a decrease in loss from 1927 and a decreased per capita cost of fire fighting. With the single exception of 1924 when it was $2.35 per capita, this is the lowest per capita loss in eleven years, $2.39.

An article of June 29 summarized some new laws passed by the Ohio legislature. Among other things, they provide amendments in the mode of procedure of acquiring land by the metropolitan park board, allow photographic recording of records and documents for county and state offices and amend the police and fire pension provision of the state law. The law amending police and fire pension provisions sets up pension boards representative of the council, and police or fire as the case may be, and provides for the selection of additional members of the new board by these two groups together. It also provides a tax levy, not to exceed three-tenths of a mill, to pay whatever pensions may be granted under existing state law.

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Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research.—The Bureau has compiled and issued a concise 208-page reference book dealing with Toronto and its community life. This publication, entitled *Toronto at a Glance*, is being sold at 25 cents per copy, which is as near cost as possible.

In compiling this publication the Bureau was of the opinion that a great number of Toronto citizens did not realize the many benefits the city had to offer to its citizens, possible citizens, tourists, and industrial firms seeking good markets and excellent facilities for manufacture and distribution. The Bureau has been rewarded for the work entailed by the commendatory remarks contained in the numerous letters received. Many firms and individuals have ordered large quantities for distribution. Some orders have already been received from the United States.

Story No 3 on the 1929 budget of the city of Toronto was prepared and issued. This is based on an analysis of the budget according to "objects of expenditure" and shows that salaries and wages amounted to 51.63 per cent of the total expenditures compared with 51.7 per cent in the previous year. Capital outlay from current funds was $744,073 or 2.25 per cent of the total. Debt service (i.e. interest, sinking funds, etc.) amounted to 18.33 per cent of the total.

An open letter was drafted and issued to the mayor and city council pointing out the danger in delaying further appointments to the Toronto Transportation Commission. These positions have now been filled.

⁂

Utah Taxpayers' Association.—The Association recently submitted to the State Tax Revision Committee a statement of recommendations on the taxing systems of the state of Utah. This was done at the request of the committee.

The Association has been actively engaged in working with school boards in analysis of annual budgets. This has been accomplished through the local committee. Gradually the school people are becoming more and more inclined to accept the budget system. Their traditional independence in the expenditure of their money is now being replaced by the recognition on their part that they owe responsibility to those who are called upon to raise the funds.

NOTES AND EVENTS

EDITED BY H. W. DODDS

Chicago Sanitary District under Attack.—Four reports and one unsuccessful ouster action have been the net results to date of four investigations into the "insanitariness" of the Chicago Sanitary District under the régime of Timothy J. Crowe. Investigations have been made by the public law offices committee of the Chicago Bar Association, by two committees of the Illinois legislature and by the state's attorney of Cook County into alleged pay-roll padding, extravagance and mismanagement of public funds and the employment of legislators and other public officers.

Early in its current session each branch of the legislature named a committee of investigation. Each committee has reported so near the end of the session that no consideration of the reports has been possible. The house committee, without mentioning names, mildly chided legislators employed by the district. The senate committee, on the other hand, presented two diametrically opposed reports. Four members gave the trustees a clean bill of health and severely criticized assistant state's attorneys for failure to coöperate with the committee. The chairman, however, vigorously dissented and his minority report fully sustains the charges of mismanagement. His report charges that within a period of seven years more than eighteen million dollars was diverted from bond funds to corporate purposes, nearly sixteen million dollars of the amount being so appropriated after July 1, 1925, when such diversion was made specifically illegal.

A preliminary report published April 4 by the committee of the Chicago Bar Association sets forth fact-records of pay-roll padding, pay-roll irregularities and testimony that hundreds of jobs in the district were handed out as rewards for political service. This committee recommended several legal reforms, some of which were embodied in bills before the legislature, but none of which appears to have the prospect of passage at this session. The Bar is continuing its inquiry into the conduct of individual lawyers and undoubtedly disciplinary measures will be recommended against lawyers found guilty of unprofessional conduct.

Since early in the year the state's attorney of Cook County has been investigating the affairs of the district. A special grand jury heard evidence for one month—the legal limit of its term—and presented a batch of indictments. None of these, however, has as yet been brought to trial. The state's attorney is understood to be continuing his investigations, presumably to present the findings before a regular grand jury when the compilation of evidence is completed.

The state's attorney recently brought suit in a circuit court action to oust the hold-over trustees from office, basing the action on the failure of the trustees to file on time the annual accounting required by law. The trustees replied that they had been so occupied with hearings, etc., that they had been physically unable to comply with this particular provision of the law! Subsequently, the court held that the allegation was insufficient cause to grant the petition and cited numerous precedents to show justification for delay in filing official reports.

EDWARD M. MARTIN.

Progress under New York Housing Law.—The report of the New York state board of housing for 1928 reviews the projects which have been undertaken under the Housing Law of 1926, which extended special privileges to limited dividend companies desiring to provide satisfactory housing for persons of moderate means at maximum rentals prescribed by the law.[1] During 1927 one project was begun and completed. It was that of the Amalgamated Housing Corporation which is backed by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. This year the same corporation is building an addition to the original enterprise. When completed the entire project will house 505 families in 2,000 rooms renting at $11 per room.

During 1928 two other projects were approved, one of which was completed last year and the other of which is now under construction. One is owned by the Farband Housing Corporation, sponsored by the Jewish National Workers' Alliance of America, and the other by the Brook-

[1] For a description of the law see NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. XV, p. 381.

lyn Garden Apartments, Inc., sponsored by a citizens' committee appointed by the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce. Rentals range from $9 to $11.30 per room. In addition, preliminary plans for two more projects were before the board at the time of writing the annual report.

According to the housing board, all the dwellings approved represent higher standards of construction and planning than are ordinarily applied to buildings of their class. By reducing land coverage and by improved architectural design, it has been possible to provide direct light and through ventilation for each apartment. All buildings are equipped with modern facilities, including steam heat, electric light, and hot and cold water. There is a bathroom for each apartment. Two of the houses contain automatic elevators.

With the completion of the buildings now under way, the total investment in new housing under the State Housing Law will exceed $5,000,000 and provide accommodation for more than one thousand families.

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Priority Urged for 43 Major Projects in New York Region.—Of the 471 projects proposed by the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs for completion within the next 35 years, 43 have been selected as deserving priority. The specific proposals urged as the immediate goal in the comprehensive reconstruction program are shown on the accompanying map. The key to the projects indicated on the map is as follows:

Ways of Communication

(1) Railroad connection between New Jersey and Brooklyn, including Narrows crossing; (2) Manhattan-New Jersey suburban transit loop, with connections to New York railroads; (3) Transit line between Newark and Paterson; (3a) Extension of Manhattan-New Jersey Loop to Brooklyn; (3b) Extension of Manhattan-New Jersey Loop from Jersey City to Staten Island; (4) Transit connection between Hackensack and Manhattan and The Bronx; (5) Straightening of the Hackensack River; 6) Tri-Borough Bridge; (7) Brooklyn-Queens crosstown highway; (8) Express highway between Hudson River Bridge and Hackensack; (9) Narrows highway crossing with connections to Elizabeth and Bayonne Bridges; (10) Route between Long Island City and Hackensack Meadows passing under midtown Manhattan and East and Hudson Rivers; (11) Crosstown route from Hudson River Bridge to Westchester Avenue, The Bronx; (12) Express highway from existing express highway in Newark to Hackensack; (13) Extension of waterfront highways around Manhattan; (14) Parkway and highway from Yonkers to New Rochelle; (15) Improved parkway and highway from Port Chester to Tarrytown; (16) Highway from Tri-Borough Bridge to Floral Park; (17) Parkway connecting with Nassau Boulevard and Grand Central Parkway in N. Y. C., extending to Half Hollow Hills with loop to Belmont Park and Southern State Parkway; (18) Saddle River Parkway; (19) Passaic River Parkway; (20) Upper Hackensack River Parkway; (21) Parkway from Hudson River Bridge along top of Palisades to Sparkill; (22) Extension of Hutchinson River Parkway to Bridgeport.

Land Uses

(A) East River Islands parks and playgrounds; (B) Jamaica Bay Park development; (C) New Queens Park areas; (D) Staten Island parks; (E) Enlarged Palisades Park areas (map includes existing Palisades Parks); (F) Newark, Hackensack Meadows and Bayonne Park areas; (G) Proposed Ramapo Mountain Reservation; (H) Industrial areas in the Bronx; (I) Industrial areas on west shore of Jamaica Bay; (J) Industrial development on both sides of Arthur Kill; (K) Other New Jersey industrial areas, including filling in of submerged land; (L) Airport in present marshlands of Southern Bronx; (M) Governor's Island airport.

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New York Dwelling Law Declared Void.—The New York Multiple Dwelling Law, discussed by Mr. Purdy on pages 305–309 of our May issue, was declared unconstitutional by Supreme Court Justice Lydon on the ground that it was special legislation prohibited by the home-rule constitutional amendment and was not a general law. The act was passed as a general law, and not on an emergency message from the governor by a two-thirds vote of the senate and assembly. The case was immediately appealed to the Court of Errors and Appeals, the final court of the state.

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St. Paul Proposes to Divorce Schools from City Government.—The city-manager charter, which is soon to be submitted to the voters of St. Paul, separates school administration from the other functions of the municipal government. It provides for a board of education of seven members to be appointed by the mayor. The city manager that the charter prescribes will thus have no authority over schools.

The present school administration in St. Paul represents an exception to the general rule in the United States. Today the city school system is under the authority of one of the members of the board of city commissioners. This arrangement was an experiment undertaken by St. Paul when it adopted the commission plan fifteen years ago.

The new charter would bring this experiment to a close and place the city's school administration in line with more generally accepted practice.

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Cincinnati Proposes to Reduce Taxes.—If City Manager C. O. Sherrill's proposed budget is adopted by the council, the tax rate for next year will be 8.86 mills, as against 9.40 for the current year and 10.36 for 1928. The total operating budget requested for 1930 is $15,947,000, approximately $53,000 less than the operating budget for last year.

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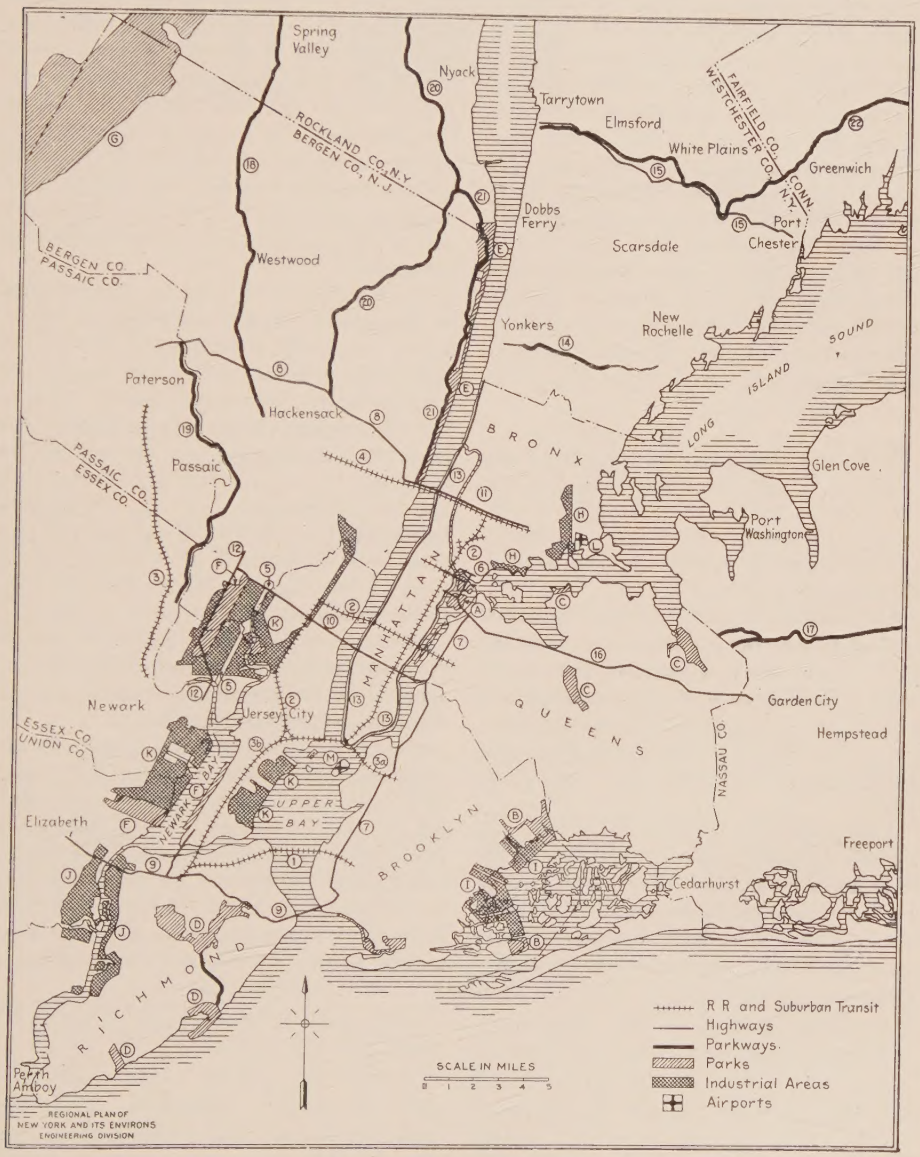
Planning Foundation Organized.—The Planning Foundation of America, with offices at 130 East 22nd Street, New York City, has been organized to bring together the facts, figures and experiences of city and regional planning, and to



SOME OUTSTANDING PROPOSALS OF THE NEW YORK REGIONAL PLAN

coördinate and place them at the disposal of the public as authoritative planning guides. As the planning interests of the country expanded, the necessity for an adequately equipped central organization was felt. This organization is to extend the service already operated by the National Conference on City Planning. It is an outgrowth rather than a competitor of the Conference.

The officers of the Foundation are as follows: Lawson Purdy, president; Bancroft Gherardi, vice-president; Frank B. Williams, treasurer; and Flavel Shurtleff, secretary and director. The following are members of the board of directors: Harland Bartholomew, St. Louis; Alfred Bettman, Cincinnati; Harold S. Buttenheim, New York; Frederic A. Delano, Washington, D. C.; George B. Ford, New York; Bancroft Gherardi, New York; John M. Glenn, New York; Paul G. Hoffman, South Bend, Indiana; Robert Jemison, Jr., Birmingham, Alabama; Milton B. Medary, Philadelphia; John Nolen, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Frederick Law Olmsted, Brookline, Massachusetts; and Lawson Purdy, New York.

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Cincinnati's Negro Problem.—The first Negro group ever brought into the councils of a city administration has been established in Cincinnati in the form of a Negro advisory committee to work with the city officials in the solution of problems of health and welfare.

Just above the Mason-Dixon line, Cincinnati has had to face the combination of both the northern and southern attitudes toward the Negro. The migration of the race northward following the war increased the colored population of the Ohio city until now it represents slightly more than one-tenth of the total population.

While much work has been done in the past not only by private agencies but also by the public health board, the tuberculosis rate among the Negroes has steadily increased. City Manager C. O. Sherrill, finding no facilities available to provide hospital training for colored doctors and nurses, appointed this committee for the purpose of coördinating Negro opinion for the advice of the administration. It will be interesting to observe the results of this experiment.

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North Carolina Modifies State Supervision over Municipal Debts.—Two years ago the North Carolina general assembly enacted the Public Securities Recording Act providing for state supervision of the means and methods for prompt payment of principal and interest of county and municipal debts. Under the provisions of a law which has just been enacted by the 1929 session of the general assembly, the duties imposed upon the state auditor by that law are transferred to the state sinking fund commission and that body is also charged with supervision of the issuance and sale of all municipal bonds.

The new law, which applies to all local units of government, requires municipalities, before issuing any bonds, to make application to the sinking fund commission for its approval of the proposed issue. After considering the necessity for the proposed improvement, existing tax rates, the reasonable ability of the local unit to sustain the tax necessary to pay the debt, etc., it may approve the issue, or it may call a public hearing at which officials, citizens and taxpayers of the local unit may be heard on the project. If the commission then disapproves the application, the proposal must be submitted to the voters.

The act then provides for the sale of bonds by the commission, or by the local unit, subject to approval by the commission of the manner in which it is advertised and sold.

Legal requirements of a sale of bonds by the commission include the following: Publication of the notice of sale at least ten days before such sale, in a local newspaper, a paper published in North Carolina having a sworn daily circulation of not less than 20,000, and in a journal approved by the commission and published in New York City, devoted primarily to the subject of state, county and municipal bonds.—*The Bond Buyer.*